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UkSSR CP Politburo Membership Chronicled
18000470 Kiev KOMMUNIST UKRAINY in Russian
No 12, Dec 88 pp 51-61

[Report prepared by V.Ye. Melnichenko and I.N. Shevchuk: "The Politburo of the Communist Party of the Ukraine—from the First, to the Present Composition"]

[Text] A letter to the editors from A.A. Shestopal of Gadyach, Poltava Oblast, requests publication of a list of members and candidate members of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, the first secretaries of the Central Committee, as well as the heads of the highest organs of state power in the republic. Other readers have expressed the same desire.

In fulfilling this request, we shall trace the composition of the Politburo (from 1952-1953 the Buro, and from 1953-1966 the Presidium) of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, from the first to the present. The information was prepared by Doctor of Historical Sciences V.Ye. Melnichenko, deputy director of the Institute on Party History at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee, a branch of the Institute on Marxism-Leninism at the CPSU Central Committee, and I.N. Shevchuk, a senior scientific associate at the institute.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo was first established on 6 March 1919 at the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum, elected by the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Ukraine. The first CP(b)U Central Committee Politburo was composed of: G.L. Pyatakov (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary¹), A.S. Bubnov (chairman, Kiev Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies), E.I. Kviring (chairman, UkSSR VSNKh [Supreme Soviet of the National Economy]), V.N. Meshcheryakov (UkSSR People's Commissar of Agriculture), and Kh.G. Rakovskiy (chairman, UkSSR Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars]). They were given the task of efficiently resolving questions of a political nature. Subsequently the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo occupied a most important position in the system of party supervision of the activities of the republics party and state organizations.

On 2 August 1919 the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum established the Politburo with the following membership: members—S.V. Kosior (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary), A.S. Bubnov (a member of the UkSSR Defense Council and the Revolutionary Military Council of the 14th Army), E.I. Kviring, and Kh.G. Rakovskiy; candidate members were—V.N. Meshcheryakov and G.L. Pyatakov (member, 13th Army Revolutionary Military Council).

On 15 April 1920, a CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum formed the Politburo from the members of the Provisional Central Committee², comprised of: members—S.V. Kosior, G.I. Petrovskiy (chairman, VUTsIK [All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee]), Kh.G.

Rakovskiy, A.Ya. Shumskiy (member, 12th Army Revolutionary Military Council), Ya.A. Yakovlev (Epshteyn) (secretary Kharkov Gubkom [Provincial Party Committee]).

On 23 November 1920, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 5th CP(b)U Conference established the Politburo comprised of: members—V.M. Molotov (first secretary, CP(b)U Central Committee), D.Z. Manuilskiy (UkSSR People's Commissar of Agriculture), G.I. Petrovskiy, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, V.Ya. Chubar (chairman, Promburo [Bureau for Industrial Restoration in the Ukraine]); candidate members—N.I. Ivanov (chairman, AUCCTU Southern Bureau), F.Ya. Kon (a member of the Galitskiy Organizational Committee and the Polish Buro at the CP(b)U Central Committee).

On 21 July 1921 a CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum removed N.I. Ivanov and V.M. Molotov from central committee membership in connection with their departure for work outside of the Ukraine.

On 14-15 December 1921, a CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 6th CP(b)U Central Committee Conference established the Politburo, comprised of: members—D.Z. Manuilskiy (first secretary CP(b)U Central Committee), A.V. Ivanov (VUTsIK secretary), G.I. Petrovskiy, G.L. Pyatakov, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, M.V. Frunze (commanding general of forces in the Ukraine and Crimea), and V.Ya. Chubar (USNKh [Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars]); candidate members—S.M. Kuznetsov (chairman, Kharkov Provincial Executive Committee), and D.Z. Lebed (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary).

On 6 February 1922, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum inducted V.P. Zatonskiy (Vukoopsoyuz [All-Ukraine Union of Consumers' Cooperatives] chairman) and S.V. Kosior (chief of the organizational department, CP(b)U Central Committee), as members of the politburo.

On 23 May 1922, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum established the Politburo with the following make-up: members—D.Z. Manuilskiy, S.M. Kuznetsov, D.Z. Lebed, G.I. Petrovskiy, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, F.Ya. Ugarov (chairman, AUCCTU Southern Bureau), and M.V. Frunze; candidate members—V.P. Zatonskiy, A.V. Ivanov, S.V. Kosior.

On 17 October 1922 the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum established the Politburo as previously comprised, and transferred A.V. Ivanov from candidate to member, and F.Ya. Ugarov from candidate-member to Politburo member [sic].

On 10 April 1923, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum, elected at the 7th CP(b)U Conference established the Politburo as follows: members—E.I. Kviring (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary), D.Z. Lebed,

G.I. Petrovskiy, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, F.Ya. Ugarov, M.V. Frunze, and V.Ya. Chubar; candidate members—M.F. Vladimirovskiy (deputy chairman, UkSSR SNK [Council of People's Commissars]), V.P. Zaton'skiy (UkSSR People's Commissar of Education), and N.A. Skrypnik (People's Commissar of Justice and general procurator of the republic).

On 17 May 1924, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected at the 8th CP(b)U Conference established the Politburo as follows: members—E.I. Kviring (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary), V.P. Zaton'skiy (chief of the political directorate, Ukrainian Military District), A.V. Medvedev (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary), G.I. Petrovskiy, M.I. Rukhimovich (director of "Donugol" [Don Basin Coal Trust]), F.Ya. Ugarov, V.Ya. Chubar (chairman, UkSSR SNK); candidate members—I.L. Bulat (VUSPS [All-Ukrainian Trade Union Council] secretary), M.F. Vladimirovskiy and N.A. Skrypnik.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held 10-13 January 1925 relieved A.V. Medvedev from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his election as secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Okrug Party Committee. I.Ye. Klimenko (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary) was elected as a member of the Politburo.

The 5 April 1925 CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved E.I. Kviring of his responsibilities as CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary and Politburo member. The Plenum installed L.M. Kaganovich as a member of the CP(b)U Central Committee Politburo and elected him CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary.

On 12 December 1925, a combined Plenum of the CP(b)U Central Committee and Central Control Commission, elected at the 9th CP(b)U Congress, established the following composition of the Politburo: members—L.M. Kaganovich, V.P. Zaton'skiy, K.O. Kirkizh (secretary of the Central Committee and the Kharkov District Party Committee), I.Ye. Klimenko, G.I. Petrovskiy, A.F. Radchenko (All-Ukraine Trade Union Council chairman), M.L. Rukhimovich, N.A. Skrypnik, and V.Ya. Chubar; candidate-members—A.V. Medvedev (secretary, Dnepropetrovsk District Party Committee), P.P. Postyshev (secretary, Kiev District Party Committee), and B.A. Semenov (secretary, Lugansk [now, Voroshilovgrad] District Party Committee).

On 16 October 1926, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved M.L. Rukhimovich from his responsibilities as a Politburo member in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman, USSR VSNKh [Supreme Soviet of the National Economy]. The plenum transferred A.V. Medvedev from candidate to Politburo

member and established Politburo candidate membership for K.V. Sukhomlin (UkSSR People's Commissar for Labor) and A.G. Shlikhter (dean of the Communist University imeni Artem in Kharkov).

A Combined CP(b)U Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum of 24 November 1926 relieved K.O. Kirkizha from his responsibilities as a Politburo member in connection with his election as chairman of the CP(b)U Central Control Commission. Politburo Candidate Member P.P. Postyshev (CP(b)U Central Committee and Kharkov District Party Committee secretary) was transferred to full membership, and F.D. Korniyushin (Kiev District Party Committee secretary) was chosen as a Politburo candidate member.

On 29 November 1927, a CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 10th CP(b)U Congress established the following Politburo composition: members—L.M. Kaganovich, G.I. Lomov (Oppokov) (board chairman of the Donugol Trust), A.V. Medvedev, G.I. Petrovskiy, P.P. Postyshev, A.F. Radchenko, B.A. Semenov, N.A. Skrypnik (UkSSR People's Commissar of Education), and V.Ya. Chubar; candidate members—V.A. Balitskiy (chairman, UkSSR GPU [Main Political Administration]), F.D. Korniyushin, N.N. Popov (chief, Agitprop Department, CP(b)U Central Committee), A.K. Serbichenko (deputy chairman, UkSSR SNK), V.A. Stroganov (secretary, Stalin District Party Committee), K.V. Sukhomlin (chairman, UkSSR VSNKh), M.Ye. Chuvyrin (secretary, Lugansk District Party Committee), A.G. Shlikhter (UkSSR People's Commissar of Agriculture), and I.Ye. Yakir (commanding general, Ukrainian Military District).

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held from 12-16 March 1928 relieved A.F. Radchenko from his responsibilities as Politburo member at his own request, and I.A. Akulov (chairman, All-Ukrainian Trade Union Council) was chosen as a Politburo member.

In June 1928, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved F.D. Korniyushin from his responsibilities as a Politburo candidate member in connection with his appointment as chairman, Kazakh SSR National Economic Council, and N.N. Demchenko (secretary, Kiev District Party Committee) was chosen as a Politburo candidate member.

On 14 July 1928, a Combined CP(b)U Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum relieved L.M. Kaganovich from his responsibilities as CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary, and elected S.V. Kosior CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary and Politburo member.

The Combined CP(b)U Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum held 7-9 April 1929 selected P.P. Lyubchenko (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary) as a Politburo candidate member.

The November 1919 CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved I.A. Akulov from his responsibilities as a Politburo member (He was appointed Deputy People's Commissar of the USSR Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate); and A.V. Medvedev, in connection with his being placed at the disposal of the AUCP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Central Committee. Elected as Politburo members were L.I. Kartvelishvili (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary) and M.Ye. Chuvyrin (chairman, All-Ukrainian Trade Union Society).

The Central Committee elected at the 11th CP(b)U Congress established the following Politburo composition on 15 June 1930, at its organizational plenum: members: S.V. Kosior, V.A. Balitskiy, L.I. Kartvelishvili, G.I. Petrovskiy, P.P. Postyshev, B.A. Semenov (secretary, Dnepropetrovsk District Party Committee), N.A. Skrypnik, K.V. Sukhomlin, V.Ya. Chubar, M.Ye. Chuvyrin, and I.E. Yakir; candidate members—N.N. Demchenko, F.I. Zaytsev (secretary, Lugansk District Party Committee), P.P. Lyubchenko, A.K. Serbichenko, V.A. Stroganov, R.Ya. Terekhov (Central Committee and Kharkov District Party Committee secretary), and V.I. Chernyavskiy (secretary, Kiev District Party Committee).

On 22 July 1930, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved P.P. Postyshev from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his election as AUCP(b) Central Committee secretary; V.A. Stroganov was transferred from candidate to Politburo member (He became CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary).

In December 1930, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved L.I. Kartvelishvili from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his election as Trans-Caucasus Kray Party Committee secretary. AUCP(b), and R.Ya. Terekhov was transferred from candidate to Politburo member.

On 2 March 1931, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved B.A. Semenov from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his election as second secretary, Central Asian Buro, AUCP(b) Central Committee; and N.N. Demchenko (UkSSR People's Commissar of Agriculture) was transferred from candidate member to Politburo member.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held on 28 January 1932 selected the following as candidate Politburo members: N.A. Alekseyev (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary), M.M. Mayorov (secretary, Odessa Oblast Party Committee), and S.F. Redens (authorized representative, UkSSR Main Political Administration).

On 12 October 1932, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum co-opted I.A. Akulov and M.M. Khataevich to the CP(b)U Central Committee and installed them as

members of the Politburo. The Plenum elected M.M. Khataevich second secretary, CP(b)U Central Committee, and I.A. Akulov, Central Committee secretary for the Don Basin.

On 29 January 1933, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum chose P.P. Postyshev as a member of the Politburo and CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held 5-7 February 1933 relieved Politburo members V.A. Stroganov and R.Ya. Terekhov, and candidate Politburo member M.M. Mayorov, from their responsibilities in connection with the call placing them at the disposal of the AUCP(b) Central Committee. Co-opted to membership in the CP(b)U Central Committee and selected as candidate Politburo member was Ye.I. Veger (first secretary, Odessa Oblast Party Committee).

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum (26-27 February 1933) inducted V.P. Zatonskiy (UkSSR People's Commissar of Education) as a Politburo member, and co-opted N.N. Popov to Central Committee membership and candidate membership in the Politburo, and appointed him CP(b)U Central Committee secretary.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held 8-11 June 1933 relieved candidate Politburo members F.I. Zaytsev, S.F. Redens, and A.K. Serbichenko from their responsibilities in connection with their departure for work outside the UkSSR; N.A. Alekseyev was relieved in connection with his selection as secretary of the Kharkov City Party Committee.

On 7 July 1933, N.A. Skrypnik, CP(b)U Central Committee Politburo member who was unjustly accused of creating a group of national-deviationists and closing ranks with interventionist forces, committed suicide.

In November 1933 the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved Politburo member I.A. Akulov of his responsibilities in connection with his appointment as USSR Procurator. Chosen as a Politburo member was S.A. Sarkisov (Stalin Oblast Party Committee first secretary).

On 23 January 1934 the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected at the 12th CP(b)U Congress established the Politburo with the following make-up: members—S.V. Kosior, V.A. Balitskiy, N.N. Demchenko, V.P. Zatonskiy, G.I. Petrovskiy, P.P. Postyshev, S.A. Sarkisov, K.V. Sukhomlin, M.M. Khataevich, V.Ya. Chubar, M.Ye. Chuvyrin, and I.E. Yakir; candidate members—Ye.I. Veger, P.P. Lyubchenko, N.N. Popov, V.I. Chernyavskiy (Vinnitsa Oblast Party Committee first secretary), and A.G. Shlikhter.

On 25 April 1934, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum transferred P.P. Lyubchenko (UkSSR SNK chairman) from candidate to full Politburo membership; I.S. Shelekhes (UkSSR SNK first deputy chairman) was chosen as candidate Politburo member.

In June 1934, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved V.Ya. Chubar from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman, USSR SNK.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum of 20-23 May 1936 relieved M.Ye. Chuvyrin from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his departure for work outside the UkSSR; N.N. Popov and I.S. Shelekhes were chosen as Politburo members.

The 3-8 January 1937 CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved N.N. Demchenko of his responsibilities as Politburo member (he was appointed USSR First Deputy People's Commissar of Agriculture); S.A. Kudryavtsev (Kiev Oblast and City Party Committee first secretary) was elected a Politburo member.

In February 1937, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum co-opted N.F. Gikalo (Kharkov Oblast Party Committee first secretary) to the Central Committee and elected him to Politburo membership.

In March 1937, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved P.P. Postyshev from his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his election as Kuybyshev Oblast Party Committee first secretary.

In May 1937, CP(b)U Central Committee Politburo Member I.E. Yakir was illegally arrested, and on 12 June 1937 was shot.

The Politburo established on 3 June 1937 by the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 13th KP(b)U Congress consisted of: members—S.V. Kosior, N.F. Gikalo, V.P. Zatonskiy, S.A. Kudryavtsev, P.P. Lyubchenko, G.I. Petrovskiy, N.N. Popov, E.K. Pramnek (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary), K.V. Sukhomlin, M.M. Khataevich, and I.S. Shelekhes; candidate members—Ye.I. Veger, N.V. Margolin (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary), S.A. Sarkisov, V.I. Chernyavskiy and A.G. Shlikhter.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held 3-4 July 1937 removed Politburo members N.N. Popov, K.V. Sukhomlin and I.S. Shelekhes from membership, as well as candidate members Ye.I. Veger and A.G. Shlikhter. N.V. Margolin was selected as a Politburo member.

The (29-30 August 1937) CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum removed from the Politburo members P.P. Lyubchenko and M.M. Khataevich, and candidate members S.A. Sarkisov and V.I. Chernyavskiy. M.I. Bondarenko (UkSSR SNK chairman) was elected to the Politburo and D.M. Yevtushenko (Kiev Oblast Party Committee first secretary) was chosen as a candidate member.

In 1937, Ye.I. Veger, N.N. Demchenko, N.N. Popov, S.A. Sarkisov, M.M. Khataevich, V.I. Chernyavskiy and I.S. Shelekhes were illegally arrested, and subsequently perished. P.P. Lyubchenko, who was falsely slandered, committed suicide on 30 August 1937.

In September 1937 the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum transferred D.M. Yevtushenko from candidate to full Politburo membership.

On 27 January 1938, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved Politburo member S.V. Kosior from his responsibilities in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman, USSR SNK. The Plenum also removed Politburo members M.I. Bondarenko, M.F. Gikalo, V.P. Zatonskiy, N.V. Margolin, and S.A. Kudryavtsev. Elected to Politburo membership were N.S. Khrushchev (CP(b)U Central Committee acting first secretary) and M.A. Burmistenko (CP(b)U Central Committee acting second secretary).

At the 25-26 April 1938 CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum, E.K. Pramnek was removed from Politburo membership.

That same year, M.I. Bondarenko, N.F. Gikalo, D.M. Yevtushenko, V.P. Zatonskiy, S.V. Kosior, S.A. Kudryavtsev, N.V. Margolin, P.P. Postyshev, E.K. Pramnek, and K.V. Sukhomlin, who had been removed from the Politburo, were illegally arrested and perished in 1938-1939.³

On 18 June 1938, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected at the 14th CP(b)U Congress chose a Politburo with the following make-up: members—N.S. Khrushchev (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary), M.A. Burmistenko (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary), D.S. Korotchenko (chairman, UkSSR SNK), S.K. Timoshenko (commanding general, Kiev Special Military District), A.I. Uspenskiy (UkSSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs), and A.S. Shcherbakov (Stalin Oblast Party Committee first secretary); candidate members—S.B. Zadionchenko (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary) and A.V. Osipov (Kharkov Oblast Party Committee first secretary).

In September 1938, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum established L.R. Korniyts (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman) as a member of the Politburo.

In December 1938, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved A.S. Shcherbakov of his responsibilities as a Politburo member in connection with his election as Moscow City and Oblast AUCP(b) Party Committee first secretary; and also relieved Politburo candidate member A.V. Osipov (who was placed at the disposal of the AUCP(b) Central Committee). The Plenum removed A.I. Uspenskiy from Politburo membership as well (That same year he was illegally condemned and later perished).

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum held 22-23 July 1939 elected M.S. Grechukha (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman) to Politburo membership.

On 17 May 1940, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 15th CP(b)U Congress, established the Politburo comprised of: members—N.S. Khrushchev, M.A. Burmistenko, M.S. Grechukha, L.R. Korniets (UkSSR SNK chairman), D.S. Korotchenko (CP(b)U Central Committee third secretary), and I.A. Serov (UkSSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs); candidate members—S.B. Zadionchenko (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee acting first secretary) and P.M. Lyubavin (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary).

In May 1941, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved Politburo member I.A. Serov from his responsibilities in connection with his transfer to other work outside the Ukraine.

In the period of the Great Patriotic War, Central Committee Politburo Member M.A. Burmistenko died in battle with the German-Fascist usurpers on 22 September 1941, while Candidate Central Committee Politburo Member P.M. Lyubavin disappeared without a trace that same year.

On 31 July 1944, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum approved D.Z. Manuil'skiy (UkSSR SNK deputy chairman and UkSSR People's Commissar of Internal Affairs) as a member of the Politburo.

On 3 March 1947, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected L.M. Kaganovich (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary) and N.S. Patolichev (CP(b)U Central Committee Secretary for Agriculture and Procurement) as members of the Politburo.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum which convened on 26 December 1947 relieved L.M. Kaganovich of his responsibilities as Politburo member and CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary in connection with his appointment as deputy chairman, USSR Council of Ministers. L. Melnikov (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary) was elected to the Politburo.

On 28 January 1949, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 16th CP(b)U Congress established the politburo with the following make-up: members—

N.S. Khrushchev (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary), M.S. Grechukha (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman), L.R. Korniets (UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman), D.S. Korotchenko (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman), D.Z. Manuil'skiy, L.G. Melnikov, and I.S. Senin (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman); candidate members—A.A. Grechko (commanding general, Kiev Military District) and Z.T. Serdyuk (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary).

In December 1949, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved N.S. Khrushchev from his responsibilities as a member of the Politburo and CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary in connection with his election as AUCP(b) Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the Moscow Oblast Party Committee. A.I. Kirichenko (CP(b)U Central Committee second secretary) was elected to the Politburo.

The CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum which convened 13-15 April 1950 elected V.V. Matskevich (UkSSR Minister of Agriculture) and I.D. Nazarenko (CP(b)U Central Committee secretary) as members of the Politburo.

In May 1952, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum relieved V.V. Matskevich from his responsibilities as a Politburo member in connection with this appointment as USSR first deputy minister of agriculture.

On 27 September 1952, the CP(b)U Central Committee Plenum elected by the 17th CP(b)U Congress introduced changes to the structure of the leading organs of the CP(b)U Central Committee. Instead of a Politburo, Orgburo and Secretariat, a Buro and Secretariat of the CP(b)U Central Committee were created. The Plenum elected a Buro with the following make-up: members—L.G. Melnikov (CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary), A.A. Grechko, M.S. Grechukha, N.T. Kalchenko (UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman), A.I. Kirichenko, L.R. Korniets, D.S. Korotchenko, I.D. Nazarenko, and I.S. Senin; candidate members—G.E. Grishko (Kiev Oblast Party Committee first secretary), N.V. Podgorny (Kharkov Oblast Party Committee first secretary), Z.T. Serdyuk (Lvov Oblast Party Committee first secretary), and A.I. Struev (Stalin Oblast Party Committee first secretary).

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum which convened 2-4 June 1953 relieved L.G. Melnikov of his responsibilities as Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary and as a member of the Buro. A.Ye. Korneychuk (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman) was elected a member of the Buro.

On 17 August 1953, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum transferred N.V. Podgorny from candidate to full Buro membership (He was elected Ukrainian CP Central Committee second secretary).

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held from 8-10 October 1953 relieved A.A. Grechko from his responsibilities as a member of the Buro in connection with his transfer to other work; candidate Buro member A.I. Struev was relieved of his responsibilities in connection with his departure for training. In conjunction with the changes in the structure of the CPSU central organs, the Plenum transformed the Central Committee Buro into the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

On 20 January 1954, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved L.R. Korniyts from his responsibilities as a member of the Presidium, in connection with his appointment as USSR Minister of Procurement.

At its organizational Plenum on 26 March 1954, the Central Committee elected by the 18th Ukrainian CP Congress established the following composition for the Presidium: members—A.I. Kirichenko (Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary), M.S. Grechukha, N.T. Kalchenko (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman), A.Ye. Korneychuk, D.S. Korotchenko (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman), I.D. Nazarenko, N.V. Podgornyy, and I.S. Senin; candidate members—G.Ye. Grishko, I.S. Konev (commanding general, Carpathian Military District), and V.I. Chuykov (commanding general, Kiev Military District).

In June 1954, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved A.Ye. Korneychuk from his responsibilities as a member of the Presidium, in connection with his transfer to creative work.

On 21 January 1956 the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 19th Ukrainian CP Congress elected the Presidium as follows: members—A.I. Kirichenko, M.S. Grechukha, N.T. Kalchenko, D.S. Korotchenko, I.D. Nazarenko, N.V. Podgornyy, and I.S. Senin; candidate members—G.Ye. Grishko, N.M. Gureyev (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman), and V.I. Chuykov.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held on 25-26 June 1956 released I.D. Nazarenko from his responsibilities as a member of the Presidium at his request, in connection with his declining state of health. The Plenum transferred N.M. Gureyev from candidate to full membership, and selected N.D. Bubnovskiy (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary) as a candidate member of the Presidium.

The 2-4 December Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum released G.Ye. Grishko from his responsibilities as a Presidium candidate member because of the state of his health. The Plenum chose as members of the Presidium L.P. Naydek (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary) and V.V. Shcherbitskiy (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary); and candidate members—O.I. Ivashchenko and S.V. Chervonenko (both Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretaries).

On 26 December 1957, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum released A.I. Kirichenko from his responsibilities as Presidium member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary, in connection with his selection as a CPSU Central Committee secretary. A.I. Gayevoy (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary) was chosen as a member of the Presidium.

In October 1959, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved S.V. Chervonenko from his responsibilities as Presidium candidate member in connection with his transfer to other work. A.D. Skaba (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary) was chosen as a candidate member of the Presidium.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held from 19-21 January 1960 released N.M. Guryev from his responsibilities as a member of the Presidium, in connection with his transfer to other work.

At its organizational Plenum on 19 February 1960, the Central Committee elected by the 21st Ukrainian CP Congress established the Presidium as follows: members—N.V. Podgornyy (Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary), A.I. Gayevoy, M.S. Grechukha, O.I. Ivashchenko, I.P. Kazanets (Ukrainian CP Central Committee second secretary), N.T. Kalchenko, D.S. Korotchenko, I.S. Senin, and V.V. Shcherbitskiy; candidate members—N.D. Bubnovskiy, A.D. Skaba, V.I. Chuykov, and P.Ye. Shelest (Kiev Oblast Party Committee first secretary).

In July 1960, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved V.I. Chuykov from his responsibilities as a candidate Presidium with his departure for work outside the republic. M.S. Sinits (Ukrainian Trade Union Council chairman) was elected a candidate member of the Presidium.

M.S. Grechukh was relieved of his responsibilities as a Presidium member by the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held 17-19 May 1961, in connection with his health; V.K. Klimenko (Ukrainian Trade Union Council chairman) was elected a candidate member of the Presidium.

On 30 September 1961, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 22nd Ukrainian CP Congress established the Presidium as follows: members—N.V. Podgornyy, A.I. Gayevoy (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary), O.I. Ivashchenko, I.P. Kazanets, N.T. Kalchenko (UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and UkSSR Minister of Procurement), D.S. Korotchenko, I.S. Senin, P.Ye. Shelest, and V.V. Shcherbitskiy (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman); candidate members—N.D. Bubnovskiy, A.D. Skaba, V.K. Klimenko, and P.K. Koshevoy (commanding general, Kiev Military District).

A.I. Gayevoy, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Presidium, passed away on 3 July 1962.

In December 1962, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected V. Komyakhov as a member of the Presidium and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary, and I.S. Grushetskiy as candidate Presidium member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

The 26-28 March 1963 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved N.D. Bubnovskiy from his responsibilities as candidate Presidium member in connection with his transfer to other work. V.I. Drozdenko (Kiev Oblast Party Committee first secretary) was elected candidate Presidium member.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum (of 1-2 July 1963) relieved N.V. Podgornyy from his responsibilities as Presidium member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary in connection with his selection as CPSU Central Committee secretary. The Plenum elected N.A. Sobol as a member of the Presidium and Ukrainian CP Central Committee second secretary, and A.P. Lyashko as a member of the Presidium and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

In January 1965, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved O.I. Ivashchenko from his responsibilities as a Presidium member in connection with his retirement.

In April 1965 the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved I.S. Senin from his responsibilities as Presidium member in connection with his state of health.

At its organizational Plenum on 18 March 1966, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee elected by the 23rd Ukrainian CP Congress, established the Presidium as follows: members—P.Ye. Shelest (Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary), A.F. Vatchenko (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary), V.I. Drozdenko (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary), N.T. Kalchenko, V.G. Komyakhov, D.S. Korotchenko, A.P. Lyashko (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman), A.A. Titarenko (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary), V.V. Shcherbitskiy (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman), and I.I. Yakubovskiy (commanding general, Kiev Military District); candidate members—G.I. Vashchenko (Kharkov Oblast Party Committee first secretary), I.S. Grushetskiy (party commission chairman at the Ukrainian CP Central Committee), V.I. Degtyarev (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary), V.K. Klimenko, and A.D. Skaba.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held 22-24 June 1966 transformed the Central Committee Presidium into the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo.

On 16 October 1966, V.G. Komyakhov, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, died.

On 23 January 1967, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected I.K. Lutak as a member of the Politburo and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

At the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum of 29 March 1968, A.D. Skaba was relieved of his responsibilities as candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in connection with his transfer to other work. F.D. Ovcharenko was chosen as a candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

On 7 April 1969, D.S. Korotchenko, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo and UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, died.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held 31 March-1 April 1970 elected N.M. Borisenko as a candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

The 20 March 1971 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 24th Ukrainian CP Congress established the Politburo as follows: members—P.Ye. Shelest, A.F. Vatchenko, G.I. Vashchenko, V.I. Degtyarev, N.T. Kalchenko, I.K. Lutak, A.P. Lyashko, N.A. Sobol, A.A. Titarenko, and V.V. Shcherbitskiy; candidate members—N.M. Borisenko, I.S. Grushetskiy, F.D. Ovcharenko, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary), and V.A. Sologub (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee second secretary).

In March 1972, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved N.A. Sobol of his responsibilities as a Politburo member in connection with his retirement.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum which convened on 25 March 1972 relieved P.Ye. Shelest of his responsibilities as a Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary in connection with his appointment as USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman. The Plenum elected V.V. Shcherbitskiy Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary.

In July 1972, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected I.S. Grushetskiy to the Politburo and chose V.M. Tsibulko (Kiev Oblast Party Committee secretary) as a candidate member.

At the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum held on 10 October 1972, F.D. Ovcharenko was relieved of his responsibilities as candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in connection with his transfer to scientific work. V.Ye. Malanchuk was elected to the Politburo and to the position of Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

On 14 September 1973, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum transferred candidate Politburo members N.M. Borisenko and V.A. Sologub (chairman, Ukrainian

Trade Union Council) to full membership. I.Z. Sokolov (Kharkov Oblast Party Committee first secretary) and V.V. Fedorchuk (chairman, KGB at the UkSSR Council of Ministers) were chosen as candidate Politburo members.

In January 1976, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved V.I. Degtyarev of his responsibilities as a Politburo member.

On 13 February 1976, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 25th Ukrainian CP Congress established the Politburo as follows: members—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, N.M. Borisenko, A.P. Botvin (Kiev City Party Committee first secretary), A.F. Vatchenko, G.I. Vashchenko, I.S. Grushetskiy (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman), A.P. Lyashko (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman), I.Z. Sokolov (Ukrainian CP Central Committee second secretary), V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, and V.V. Fedorchuk; candidate members—V.F. Dobrik (Lvov Oblast Party Committee first secretary), B.V. Kachura (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary), V.Ye. Malanchuk, P.L. Pogrebnyak (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman), and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak.

In October 1976 the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved I.S. Grushetskiy of his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his retirement. P.L. Pogrebnyak was elected to full membership in the Politburo.

On 10 June 1977 the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected I.A. Gerasimov (commanding general, Kiev Military District) as candidate Politburo member.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum which convened on 26 April 1979 relieved V.Ye. Malanchuk of his responsibilities as candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in connection with his transfer to other work. A.S. Kapto was named a candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

On 1 February 1980, P.L. Pogrebnyak, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, passed away.

On 15 April 1980 the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved A.P. Botvin of his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his transfer to diplomatic service. I.A. Gerasimov, and B.V. Kachura were transferred from candidate to full Politburo membership. Ye.V. Kachalovskiy (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary) and I.A. Mozgovoy (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman) were chosen as candidate Politburo members.

On 8 May 1980, N.M. Borisenko, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, died.

The May 1980 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum chose I.A. Mozgovoy as a member of the Politburo and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary. Yu.A. Kolomiets (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman) was chosen as a candidate Politburo member.

At its organizational Plenum on 12 February 1981, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 26th Ukrainian CP Congress established the Politburo as follows: members—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.F. Vatchenko (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman), I.G. Vashchenko (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman), I.A. Gerasimov, B.V. Kachura, A.P. Lyashko, I.A. Mozgovoy, I.Z. Sokolov, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, and V.V. Fedorchuk; candidate members—V.F. Dobrik, Yu.N. Yelchenko (Kiev City Party Committee first secretary), A.S. Kapto, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, Yu.A. Kolomiets, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak.

On 1 October 1982, Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo member I.Z. Sokolov passed away.

The October 1982 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum transferred Yu.N. Yelchenko to full Politburo membership, and chose S.N. Mukha as a candidate Politburo member. V.V. Fedorchuk was relieved of his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his transfer to other work and departure from the republic party organization.

On 26 April 1983, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved G.I. Vashchenko of his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his departure from the republic party organization. The Plenum transferred Y.V. Kachalovskiy (UkSSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman) from candidate to full Politburo membership, and chose V.P. Mironov (Donetsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary) as a candidate Politburo member.

On 6 March 1984, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum transferred V.P. Mironov from candidate to full Politburo membership.

The September 1984 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum selected V.D. Kryuchkov (Ukrainian CP Central Committee department chief) as a candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

A.F. Vatchenko, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo and UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, died on 22 November 1984.

On 25 March 1985, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum chose V.S. Shevchenko (UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman) as a member of the Politburo.

On 8 February 1986, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum elected by the 27th Ukrainian CP Congress established the following make-up for the Politburo: members—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, I.A. Gerasimov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, A.P. Lyashko, V.P. Mironov, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko, and V.S. Shevchenko; candidate members—V.F. Dobrik, V.A. Ivashko (Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary), Yu.A. Kolomiets, V.D. Kryuchkov, V.A. Masol (UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and UkSSR Gosplan chairman), S.N. Mukha, and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak.

In March 1987, the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum chose S.I. Gurenko as candidate Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary (Prior to this he had worked as UkSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman). V.F. Dobrik was relieved of his responsibilities as candidate Politburo member.

The July 1987 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved A.P. Lyashko of his responsibilities as Politburo member in connection with his retirement; S.N. Mukha was relieved of his responsibility as candidate Politburo member in connection with his transfer from active military service to the reserves. The Plenum transferred V.A. Masol (UkSSR Council of Ministers chairman) from candidate to full Politburo membership.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum which convened on 22 January 1988 transferred V.A. Ivashko (Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Party Committee first secretary) from candidate to full Politburo membership. K.I. Masik (Kiev City Party Committee first secretary) was chosen candidate Politburo member.

V.P. Mironov, a member of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo, died on 11 June 1988.

The September 1988 Ukrainian CP Central Committee Plenum relieved I.A. Mozgovoy of his responsibilities as Politburo member and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary in connection with his retirement. I.G. Grintsov was elected a member of the Politburo and Ukrainian CP Central Committee secretary.

The Ukrainian CP Central Committee Politburo as of 1 November 1988: members—V.V. Shcherbitskiy, I.A. Gerasimov, I.G. Grintsov, Yu.N. Yelchenko, V.A. Ivashko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, V.A. Sologub, A.A. Titarenko and V.S. Shevchenko; candidate members—S.I. Gurenko, Yu.A. Kolomiets, V.D. Kryuchkov, K.I. Masik and Ya.P. Pogrebnyak.

Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretaries

From the 1st through the 27th Ukrainian CP Congresses, the following were chosen as Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretaries:

Georgiy (Yuriy) Leonidovich Pyatakov (1890-1937): July-September 1918 and March-May 1919, CP(b)U Central Committee secretary.

Gerafima Ilinichna Gopner (1880-1966): September-October 1918, CP(b)U Central Committee secretary.

Emmanuil Ionovich Kviring (1888-1937): October 1918-March 1919, CP(b)U Central Committee secretary; April 1923-March 1925, first secretary, and from March through April 1925, CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary.

Stanislav Vikentevich Kosior (1889-1939): May 1919-November 1920, CP(b)U Central Committee secretary and chairman, Zafrontburo [Frontal Bureau of the CP(b)U, which led the party underground and partisan movement in the Civil War], July 1928-January 1934, general secretary, and from January 1934-January 1938, CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary.

Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov (1890-1986): November 1920-March 1921, CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary.

Feliks Yakovlevich Kon (1864-1941): March-December 1921—CP(b)U Central Committee executive secretary.

Dmitriy Zakharovich Manuilskiy (1883-1959): December 1921-April 1923—CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary.

Lazar Moiseevich Kaganovich (1893): April 1923-July 1928: CP(b)U Central Committee general secretary; March-December 1947, CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary.

Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev (1894-1971): January-June 1938—acting first secretary; June 1938-March 1947 and December 1947-December 1949, CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary.

Leonid Georgievich Melnikov (1906-1981): December 1949-June 1953, CP(b)U Central Committee first secretary (since October 1952, Ukrainian CP Central Committee).

Aleksey Ilarionovich Kirichenko (1908-1975): June 1953-December 1957—Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary.

Nikolay Viktorovich Podgornyy (1903-1983): December 1957-July 1963—Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary.

Petr Yefimovich Shelest (1908): July 1963-May 1972—Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary.

Vladimir Vasilevich Shcherbitskiy (1918): From May 1972 to the present—Ukrainian CP Central Committee first secretary.

Footnotes

1. Position at the time of election to the Politburo shown in parentheses.

2. At the 4th CP(b)U Congress (In accordance with RKP(b) regulations, the 4th through the 8th CP(b)U Conferences were conducted with the rights of a congress), because of fractious machinations of the "dissists" ["an opportunistic group for 'democratic centralism' in the CPSU (1920-21)"] (voting by electoral lists and so on), 105 delegates defending Lenin's line refused to take part in the elections to the CP(b)U Central Committee. The elections were in essence incompetent and the Central Committee elected by the conference did not reflect the will of the majority of the Ukrainian communists. In connection with this, the RKP(b) Central Committee adopted a resolution for its dissolution and on creation of a Provisional CP(b)U Central Committee.

3. A number of the party and state figures elected to the CP(b)U Central Committee Politburo in the years 1919-1936 were unjustly condemned and perished when they were no longer members: N.A. Alekseev, I.A. Akulov, A.S. Bubnov, I.L. Bulat, N.I. Ivanov, L.I. Kartvelishvili, E.I. Kvirin, I.Ye. Klimenko, F.D. Korniyushin, S.M. Kuznetsov, D.Z. Lebed, G.I. Lomov (Oppokov), M.M. Mayorov, A.V. Medvedev, G.L. Pyatakov, A.F. Radchenko, Kh.G. Rakovskiy, S.F. Redens, M.L. Rukhimovich, B.A. Semenov, A.K. Serbichenko, V.A. Stroganov, V.Ya. Chubar, and Ya.A. Yakovlev (Epshteyn).

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Kazakh CP CC Secretary Dzhaniybekov on Multilingualism, Internationalism
18300382 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Uzbekali Dzhaniybekov, secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee: "Need for Reasonable Harmony"]

[Excerpt] Alma-Ata—The misunderstandings and mutual reproaches frequently arise because we, as paradoxical as it may be, know each other extremely poorly. And we know by no means everything about ourselves. Just recently, instruction—political and economic—was a "sick," if not empty, place. Today there is more interest in this instruction.

The urgent questions in international and patriotic education were widely discussed in the worker collectives and unions of creative artists and at the plenum of the Kazakh CP Central Committee. On the basis of an in-depth and bitter analysis, we came to the conclusion that the sadly well-known December events in Alma-Ata

were the result of the fact that for many years the republic and country permitted deviations from the principles of the Leninist national policy in all areas of our life.

To strengthen the social and economic bases of the community, it is necessary above all to give an objective evaluation of the social division of labor between republics. Publicly. So that the people will know what they are doing, why, for whom, and what is the benefit—pardon me—advantage from this for them, the republic and state. The transition to regional cost accounting will doubtless help to harmonize international relations, to increase independence and to raise local responsibility for the development of the economy and—what is especially important—for the development of the social area and culture. The extreme dependence upon powerful union departments tied the hands of local leaders and taught them to be dependent and submissive. It is said that you cannot beat the butt of an ax with a whip. For decades, for example, the coal miners' city of Ekibastuz was built under the "residual principle." But now it is necessary to correct the mistakes and make up for what was neglected.

The rise in national awareness in all the republics evoked the most burning discussions on language problems, which supposedly did not exist at all before perestroika. Kazakhstan, for example, was continuously mentioned as a happy example: the republic of 100 languages. No one was especially perplexed by the question of how this subject is embodied in future practice.

The largest nationalities in our republic are the Kazakhs and the Russians. It turns out that even these two languages have not been learned well. In some oblasts, especially in remote rural regions, they taught Russian haphazardly in Kazakh schools and sometimes not at all, which, you must agree, could not help but limit and complicate contact and make it more difficult for Kazakh youth to serve in the army and to select VUZ's. There were practically no Kazakh schools or kindergartens in the cities. The Kazakh language was not compulsory in Russian educational and preschool institutions. So it has now reached the point where many Kazakhs have a poor knowledge of their native language.

The Kazakh CP Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR passed a decree on improving the study of the Kazakh and Russian languages. The conditions are being established for the free development of other languages. At the present time, the schools in the republic are teaching in Kazakh, Russian, Uigur, Yzbek, Tadzhik.... There are now more mixed schools with instruction in Russian and Kazakh. Preparatory sections in the native language have been opened for secondary school graduates from remote villages who are entering VUZ's. Courses are being set up in institutes, enterprises and villages for those desiring to study Kazakh or Russian.

"A most important principle of our multinational state," states the resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On Relations Between Nationalities," "is the free development and equally valid utilization of native languages by all citizens of the USSR and the mastery of the Russian language voluntarily accepted by the Soviet people as the means of intercourse among nationalities." National-Russian bilingualism is vitally necessary and correct in Kazakhstan. Some of our cultural leaders, however, are being tempted by the example of those republics in Transcaucasia and the Baltic, where they have constitutionally set forth the official status of the native national languages.

Speaking in the plenum of the board of the USSR Union of Writers, one of our leading prose writers said: "I think that just as it is necessary to support a broken-down house, we also need a solid and reliable basis for the survival of a language. In the case at hand, I think that such a basis for the languages of the small nationalities is above all their inclusion in the constitution as official languages." Under bilingualism, he declared, the Kazakh language will remain a "parasite."

Here is the personal example of a writer, whose creative works persistently promote national-Russian bilingualism. The books of one of the best Kazakh prose writers are written in his native language in a vivid and original manner. As a rule, he participates in their translation into Russian. A few years ago, a unique collection of essays by this author was published in Alma-Ata in two languages: half of the book is in Russian and half in Kazakh. In the essays on Dostoevskiy, Turgenev and Gorki, the author examines the creative works of Russian classical writers, having read their works not in translations, of course, but in the original.

We have repeatedly discussed language problems with scientists and students, workers and masters of the arts. In the plenum of the Kazakh Union of Writers, a proposal was made for the constitutional legalization of two languages: Kazakh and Russian. This proposal was supported at the recent meeting of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Bureau that examined questions in the preparation for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on relations between nationalities.

For a more in-depth study and improvement of relations between nationalities, the country's first republic social and political Center for the Propagandizing of Leninist National Policy was established under the Kazakh CP

Central Committee. It combined the section for research in the area of relations between nationalities of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences and the office for the methodical study of languages under the Kazakh SSR Ministry of Education. The center began its work recently and they are already calling us and asking for permission to come for experience.

The journal DRUZHBA NARODOV presented us with an unnatural "surprise." In the 12th issue of last year, it published the speeches of participants in the conference on the subject "The National Question Today" organized by the journal's editorial board. We, to put it mildly, were very surprised by an interview with one of its participants that contained the following phrase: "It is easy to provoke nationalism." I do not think that the speaker was specifically setting this goal for himself. If emotions were managed and controlled by reason, he would not be "warming up" young people with "figures" and "facts" pulled from God knows where and statements like the one saying that supposedly 3,000 students were expelled from Kazakh VUZ's in connection with the events in December 1986. The actual figure is 182, although we understand that this is also deplorable.

Getting incensed, the writer angrily makes fun of the fact that in the republic there are supposedly Uigur, German and Dungan "problems." "But the Kazakhs are all right," he concludes.

Let us remind the journal's editorial board with such an engaging title as "Friendship of Nations" of an important idea from the speech of M.S. Gorbachev at the January meeting in the CPSU Central Committee: "When we talk about the special features of socialist pluralism, we have in mind above all responsibility in judgments, which primarily presupposes competency and reliable facts. In our mass media, unfortunately, we are observing a striving to disseminate premature and unjustified conclusions and judgments and some have begun to emphasize sensationalism."

The people are saying that they are tired of the malice and irresponsibility of some "masters of the pen." This malice is especially dangerous in the area of relations between nationalities. Tolerance, delicacy, tact and balance are absolutely essential in this area. Today's atmosphere of democracy and glasnost must work for the restructuring and strengthening of our common house and for the uniting of our USSR.

Local Kiev Newspapers Seen as Boring, Not Adapting to Glasnost

18300374a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
6 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by A. Terebunov, under rubric "On the Pages of the 'Small' Press": "Б:!! for Silence"]

[Text] The Communists at the Kiev Technological Institute of Light Industry subjected to severe criticism the institute newspaper LENINSKIY PRAPOR at a meeting to hear reports and hold elections. They submitted a serious bill to it for the position that it had taken in the process of perestroika. They called the publication a "dead newspaper," clarifying at such time the fact that it had become such not without the "aid" of the party committee, which had done practically nothing during the report period to assure that the materials being published were sharper and more well-principled, or that the field of topics covered by the newspaper would be broader.

"Somehow everything here is proceeding the old way. The newspaper does not print any discussions or any conflicts of opinions," N. V. Shostak, one of the few volunteer authors of the institute newspaper says. "But there are a large number of problems all around. They themselves cry out to appear on the newspaper pages."

Actually, it has been high time for the newspaper to look deeply into the phenomena of the multifaceted institute activities and to make them the object of its careful research. The results of a questionnaire survey of the fourth-year students, for example, indicated that 68 percent of the students answered that, if they had the opportunity to make a decision all over again, they would not enroll in this institute. Last year, on the decision of the student council, 170 students were refused the right to live in the dormitory as a result of their immoral behavior. But no particular attention was paid to that decision made by the student council, and certain transgressors, as a result of official requests made by influential persons, were allowed to return to the dormitories. Are we really to believe that this is not a topic for an article in the institute newspaper?

Today public opinion at the institute is indignant at the persistent tendency toward a reduction in the academic success rate. Questions of the imperfection of the instructional process and the unsatisfactory rate at which the instructional auditoriums are provided with technical equipment are being raised with increasing frequency. But LENINSKIY PRAPOR shamefully remains silent about these problems. Certainly it should not seem strange after this that the absolute majority of the students do not read their own institute newspaper, and many of them do not even know its name.

"We have some kind of weak-willed newspaper," Tatyana Bocharova, third-year student and member of the new party committee, says.

Well, how could one expect it to be strong-willed and to stay on top of things, if the entire editorial office of the institute newspaper consists of... one person, Vlada Romanovna Kalyavskaya. She does everything: she's the editor, the typist, the technical secretary, and the translator (the absolute majority of the materials arrive at the editorial office in Russian, but the newspaper is published in Ukrainian). Where, then, is she supposed to find the time to do everything? How necessary it is for her to lean on the party committee's powerful shoulder! She went there many times for help, but it was always in vain. The party committee reduced all the worries about its house organ to a strict examination of the materials before they were published.

A month after the meeting to hear reports and hold elections, a party committee with a new makeup gathered at its session in order to discuss the trends in their activities for the forthcoming period. Before the beginning of the session there was an exchange of pinions with V. N. Bogdan, the partkom's deputy secretary for party-organizational work.

"Yes, our newspaper is not too lively," Vladimir Nikolayevich concluded self-critically.

It was thought that at the partkom session there would be a discussion about the reasons for this unsatisfactory situation, about the formation of a public editorial board, about the work being done by the volunteer aktiv—in a word, about how to make the newspaper a fighting house organ. But the partkom members proved to be unready for this discussion. Immediately after the session, F. M. Kanak, partkom secretary for ideological work, stated his views:

"Of course there ought to be a lot of discussion about the newspaper, but... Well, we ourselves read it infrequently, not to mention the students. But give us recommendations and we will listen carefully to them."

The partkom members proved not to have any recommendations...

Fifty-five house organs of various kinds are published in Kiev, with a total one-time printing run of 170,000 copies. The city's institutions of higher learning have 11 house organs. And many of them, alas, are similar to the newspaper that was mentioned above.

"Unfortunately, the activities of the editorial offices of small-format newspapers do not conform to the requirements of the time. The quality of the newspapers published by institutions of higher learning is inferior to that of the house organs published by industrial enterprises. They lack sharpness and the ability to carry on fruitful discussions, and the journalists' contemplative position continues to have the upper hand. And this occurs primarily because the party committees either are failing completely to fulfill their functions in managing the

newspapers, or, conversely, are excessively regulating their activities. Either approach is bad," A. A. Chirva, chief of the Press Sector of the party's Kiev Gorkom, says.

It turns out, he reports, that in three editorial offices of house organs the position of editor is currently one of the vacant ones; the workers at other house organs are already at middle-aged; and there is practically no one in the reserves to supplement the editorial offices with experienced journalists. True, the gorkom sector plans to analyze the situation with the "small press" cadres, to resolve the question of a harmonious system for filling vacancies, and to study the possibility of creating, on the basis of the university newspapers, a citywide students' weekly newspaper with a full staff of journalists, and with correspondent points at the educational institutions...

But all these only plans for the future. So far it is unclear when they will be implemented, or how much will be needed to "study" and to "coordinate." For example, it was planned to resolve the question of combining the university newspapers into a citywide students' weekly in the fourth quarter of last year. But time has passed and people are already saying that this idea is not finding support among all the interested persons, and that the printing base is a deterrent...

Of course, one could mention a large number of problems, but one would scarcely think that approach to the job at hand will give the "small press" additional competency and aggressiveness.

Journalists, Jurists Hold Discussion on Press Reform Law

18300374b Moscow *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA* in Russian No 3, 18 Jan 89 p 10

[Article by Igor Gamayunov, under rubric "The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Sitting Room": "The Right to Truth: A Biased Report on a Business Meeting in the LG Editorial Office with Jurists to Discuss the Topic of What the Law Governing the Press Should Be"]

[Text] Last year, when the limit on subscription was lifted, its sharp jump to the completely unprecedented printing runs proved that the people need glasnost and they need perestroika. Essentially speaking, the subscription became a nationwide referendum in defense of glasnost. Therefore we also need a Law Governing the Press (as is generally known, it is currently being prepared), in order to guarantee the "irreversibility of glasnost"; to assure that the situation of "changing the direction of the rivers" that was achieved by authors and public affairs commentators by means of glasnost is not the sole example of its effectiveness; and to assure that glasnost, by summing up the readers' opinions, is not only feedback in the administrative system of the rule-of-law state, but also another lever of the sovereignty of the people.

But won't the Law Governing the Press limit the opportunities of the mass information media by paragraphs that are remote from journalistic practice? This natural concern is what became the reason for our business meeting.

Everything began this way: learning about the meeting, television arrived. The office of A. P. Udaltsov, deputy editor in chief, was immediately cluttered with computers and a tangle of wires. Microphones sprang up alongside of bottles of mineral water. The guests, squinting in the bright light, looked quizzically at one another, realizing that "something" was going to happen. But what? An official meeting? Or just a debating club? After all, it was a burning topic.

Here are only a few questions from the meeting's agenda: what rights should the Law Governing the Press guarantee the journalist, to assure that he can obtain any nonsecret information at any department? How can he be spared the interminable trips to court, to which he can be called by a bureaucrat whom he has criticized, not so much because the journalist has distorted the facts as because he has interpreted them a certain way? Can newspapers, especially local ones, be protected against the "telephone right"? What must a pretrial published item be like in order not to deviate from the principle of the presumption of innocence?

The following persons participated in this meeting: Yuriy Mikhaylovich Baturin, senior scientific associate, Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of legal sciences; Yasen Nikolayevich Zaslavskiy, dean of the Journalistics School, Moscow State University; Boris Sergeyevich Krylov, doctor of legal science, Institute of Soviet Legislation; Geliy Trofimovich Ryabov, public affairs commentator, USSR State Prize winner; Valeriy Mikhaylovich Savitskiy, department head, Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences; Mikhail Aleksandrovich Fedotov, assistant professor, candidate of legal sciences; and Vladimir Lvovich Entin, senior scientific associate, Institute of State and Law, USSR Academy of Sciences, candidate of legal sciences.

The journalists were represented by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA columnists who write on legal topics: A. Borin, Yu. Shchekochikhin, N. Loginova, and the author of this report. The meeting was conducted by A. Udaltsov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA deputy editor in chief.

As is generally the case in a sitting room, the conversation jumped around from topic to topic: from "state secrets" that are inaccessible to the journalist, to departmental secrets, and then to journalistic objectivity, which, the jurists immediately began to assert, is hindered by emotions. Therefore, as I go through the stenographic record now, I shall attempt to keep my emotions in check. But is this actually possible in principle? And is journalism really supposed to be unemotional? In a word, I hope that the jurists will forgive me

if I am not able to remain sufficiently impartial. It may be that a television camera lens can be like that when it broadcasts my narrative report. This will become clear at 2140 hours on 24 January on the first program during the first showing of the legal video channel, which the television journal "Man and Law" intends to broadcast constantly.

Departmental Secrets

[A. Udaltsov] Journalistics begins with the obtaining of information. Therefore the further Law Governing the Press, obviously, must put the journalist and the department in different situations.

[Yu. Shchekochikhin] We have absolutely no rights. Any government employee can state that the information that we need is a state secret. I recall that there used to be a time when all the work performed by the militia was turned into a state secret. It was possible to criticize no more than one "individually taken" militiaman, with the stipulation that, of course, this was an isolated situation.

[G. Ryabov] Information on ecology was made secret—it was impossible to find out precisely how, and in what volume, the water, the air, the soil were being polluted. To this very day scientists in the field of criminology do not have complete information concerning the state and dynamics of crime... But how can you combat something about which you do not have a clear idea?

[V. Krylov] As for state secrets, we all know that these are questions of defense. For a certain period of time, for example, a forthcoming price change may be a state secret. This is understandable. But it is also possible for decisions that have not yet been made by a particular department, decisions that are still in the process of being worked out, to be a secret for a certain period of time. This is the situation in any profession. I scarcely think that you journalists would bring before the court of public opinion an incompletely written article.

[Yu. Shchekochikhin] Do you mean, then, that a store manager can state that the amount of meat being shipped in for sale is a state secret?

[M. Fedotov] In 1926 the Sovnarkom [Council of People's Commissars] approved a list of types of information that constitute a secret secrets. It came a total of a page and a half—that's right, a page and a half!—of text. At that time, it was published in the newspapers. I think that that list ought to be made public knowledge today also.

[A. Borin] In 1971 I had a very typical situation involving a departmental secret. I was traveling to Kurgan in order to write about Ilizarov. At that time a lot had already been written about him, but things had not got moving. His hospital was crowded into some kind of small area—a former morgue, I think. There was an order from the minister of public health, which approved

not only Ilizarov's method, but also the construction of a new clinic. I return to Moscow, I go to Gosplan, and I ask to see the dossier on the construction of that clinic. They give it to me. I leaf through it, reading it intently. Suddenly I find a slip of paper signed by the deputy minister of public health, that states that Minzdrav [Ministry of Public Health] does not consider it to be desirable to construct a clinic for Ilizarov immediately. That is, everybody knew about the order to build it, but the piece of paper that secretly was delaying the construction was lying ever so modestly in the dossier. All that LG had to do was to publicize the minister's order and his deputy's letter, and a short time later USSR Gosplan reconsidered that question. Of course it was not only because of what had been printed in LG—that proved only to be the last straw... The decision was made to build Ilizarov an excellent complex that is now known throughout the world. That is what can happen if a journalist notices a small piece of paper in a dossier that people could refuse to give him, saying that it was an official secret.

[Ya. Zasurskiy] It seems to me that we have a greater need for a law governing information, rather than one governing the press. It is necessary to legalize the access that journalists to dossiers such as this, to the archives, and to statistical data banks.

[A. Udaltsov] Let's try to formulate some kind of basic principles for the future law...

...No one is insured against sudden surprises at meetings like this. And they did occur. First, the plastic cover of the ceiling lighting fixture buckled from the heat of the highly raised floodlight and crashed loudly to the floor. But that did not completely surprise those present. Three jurists who were setting together as a separate group—Fedotov, Baturin, and Entin—after the discussion leader's appeal to "formulate" some principles, became strangely enlivened and began looking all around. Also Yu. Baturin clarified whether LG would publish it if they "by chance formulated everything," or would television cut out those frames. After hearing the polite response, "Why, of course!", but without clarifying whether that meant "of course we'll cut the frames out" or "of course we won't cut the frames out," Yuriy Mikhaylovich demonstrated to everyone an already prepared draft of the law governing the press. With signatures at the bottom. One could discern there the names of the authors who were modestly sitting in front of us.

That was a small sensation: usually the authors of legislative bills either hide themselves (could it be from shame?), or are hidden by others (from the justified wrath of the educated public?), or simply cannot be established at all, since a large number of anonymous official hands have edited the text of a future law. But here all three authors were right here. One could actually touch them and be convinced: they're alive! One could ask what they had been guided by... And there would be no departmental secrecy! How had they decided to take

that step? Could it be because their unofficial draft had been created on their own initiative, an initiative which, incidentally, was supported by the USSR Writers' Union?

[Yu. Baturin] Our draft clearly stipulates the right to receive information... Refusal is possible only if it is a state secret. But if it has received a refusal, the editorial board doubts that the refusal is justified can appeal it in court. And the court has the right to subject the official who has given an unjustified refusal to administrative punishment—a fine of from 25 to 100 rubles, plus the payment of the court costs.

[G. Ryabov] That's remarkable. But I remember a particular situation. Once Count Benckendorf gave this explanation about laws to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor Delvig: they are written for you subordinates, rather than for the leadership, and you cannot cite the laws or justify yourself by them...

The right to receive information... That fundamental right is just as natural for the press as, for example, the right of enterprises to receive raw materials. If there are no raw materials, the enterprise will stop. If there is no new information, public thinking will stop. And surely the Law Governing the Press must treat the departmental refusal to issue information as a crime against society and the state. And obviously it is not the editorial office that must appeal to the court, but rather the procurator who is defending legality. Departmental refusal can be used to conceal everything—departmental arrogance, the attempt to conceal a monstrous botch that is fraught with a catastrophe such as the one at Chernobyl, and the hope that, while the case is dragging out in the court, it will be impossible to establish who was at fault. Also, a 100-ruble fine in such instances will be just a mosquito bite. And a department could pay for a thousand of those mosquito bites, since they do not come out of the department's pocket!... But there is another way to protect oneself against glasnost: immediately transfer the departmental secret into the category of a state secret by means of a telephone call made by an important person in the apparatus. In my opinion, Yu. Shchekochikhin is right: the list of what can be a state secret should be approved by USSR Supreme Soviet, and this should be done openly.

Expert Investigation

A reasonable question is: how, then, should one increase the role of the mass information media in the present society? How should one also establish monitoring over the departments?.. We might recall that in the 1930's and 1940's the press was the "whistling scourge," and hatred toward "enemies of the people" was cultivated, thus making it easier for Stalin and his followers to carry out drumhead justice against opponents who did not share their views, and simultaneously to explain to the credulous nation the failures in domestic and foreign policy by plots hatched by those same "enemies." In the 1950's

and 1960's the press was called the "drive belt," automatically snatching up and disseminating among the "masses" as the ultimate truth the word that had been passed down from the top, even though that word by no means was always carefully weighed.

During the years that are being called the years of stagnation, the press increasingly mastered the methods of allegory in order to report the truth, albeit meager, to the reader. In their essays the journalists called the most typical conflict situations "an isolated instance," and that device was immediately taken on as standard equipment by the officials. Their reaction to criticism was elementary—to take steps to deal with the specific situation that had leaked through to the press, but in general to change nothing. And nothing was indeed changed until 1985 came, and it became obvious that we were in a pre-crisis situation. Today, when the changes have begun, when every day is dear to us, when it is only open, clear-cut discussion of all the difficulties that can help us rather quickly to overcome them, the press has been called the "instrument of perestroika." Has this idea gone far from the "drive belt"?

I cannot forget a meeting I had in Volgograd Oblast with the editor of a rayon newspaper which, right now, during the years of perestroika, under the pretext of combating nonlabor income, has encouraged a campaign of drumhead justice against the "hothousers." There was a flood of abusive articles that incited unabashed denunciation and cruel hatred against their high earnings. "This line was given to us by the obkom," the editor told me with a completely impenetrable face. He was an efficiently operating "drive belt," "instrument," and "cog" in the arbitrary mechanism of the local authorities.

I am convinced that the mass information media must become a superdepartmental or, if you will, people's or public control. They must respond to the readers' letters, the telephone calls to the editorial offices, and the concerned telegrams by immediately carrying out their own *expert investigation* and must immediately report the results of that investigation to the public, thus consolidating the healthy forces of society to correct the errors that are fraught with social calamity.

[G. Ryabov] I cannot imagine how a rayon newspaper will be able to criticize, for example, the rayon ispolkom upon which it no simply depends, but of which the newspaper is the organ.

[Ya. Zasurskiy] In the late 1950's we had interr rayon newspapers. The purpose for creating them was to get the press out from under the excessive dependence upon the local authorities. Later on, unfortunately, they were eliminated. But the idea of such regional newspapers, in my opinion, is an extremely viable one. Take this example: when Gorbachev was in the Far East, he noticed that the local inhabitants found out about many of the problems in their region by reading the central press, rather than the local. And yet the local press could have

been more time-responsive and more informed. I think that the creation not only of an interrayon press, but also of an interoblast and interkray press, is a very promising undertaking. In addition, the principle of the plurality of opinion is easier to carry out when there are more newspapers.

[V. Zitin] According to our draft, the organizations that have the right to establish mass information media are not only the CPSU and VLKSM [All-Union Komsomol] organizations, not only the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, cooperatives, and creative unions, and not only religious and other associations, but also groups of citizens who have submitted to the executive agencies of the local soviets a program for their publication. Within the period of a month, it must be registered and its founders must be issued a five-year license.

[G. Ryabov] But what if the founders are refused that registration?

[M. Fedotov] The refusal must be well substantiated. But if there is no justification for the refusal, that contradicts the Constitution and the founder can appeal to the court.

[Yu. Baturin] According to Article 11 in our draft, the court can not only acknowledge the refusal is null and void, but can also require the "banners" to pay the founders damages, including income that they failed to receive...

[A. Udaltsov] Let us imagine that a newspaper—we can call it an innovative one—has betrayed its program by publishing an article that incites the readers, for example, to demonstrate national or religious intolerance... Who will stop that outrage?

[A. Udaltsov] The procurator. On the basis of his well-substantiated resolution, the distribution of that newspaper will be temporarily stopped. But the procurator, in conformity with Article 21 of our draft, must transfer the case for consideration by the court within 72 hours under ordinary circumstances, or within 24 hours during an election campaign. And the court must consider his resolution in the light of Article 5 (Part II) of our draft. That article states, in particular, that it is not authorized to use the mass information media for purposes of forcibly changing the governmental or social system, or to propagandize war, racism, national or religious intolerance, violence, or cruelty.

[G. Ryabov] Does your draft mention censorship?

[Yu. Baturin] Yes. In Article 1. That article states, "The censoring of mass information is not allowed."

[A. Udaltsov] But, evidently, that does not mean that editing is not allowed.

[Yu. Baturin] Obviously. However, Article 34, in particular, states that a journalist has the right "to state his personal views," and also to "refuse to prepare material that contradicts his convictions, and this is not a violation of labor discipline." Also, a journalist can "remove his signature from material the content of which, in his opinion, has been distorted in the process of being edited."

(...Later on, I pored over this initiatory draft. And I thought, certainly the Law should define wherein lies the *journalist's originator's right* [Soviet copyright]. In the event that there are differences of opinion with the editor, can the author give his article to another editorial office?... That poses another problem—the legal status of editorial boards. Their right must also be precisely stipulated: the editorial offices must be a legal entity and must have their own budget, they must be in charge not only of the honorarium fund, but also some of the profit, in order to use it to obtain technical—by now, computer—equipment, without asking the publishing house for money for that purpose. And might it not be worthwhile to change the editorial offices to a cost-accountable basis?...)

[A. Udaltsov] So far as I understand it, your draft stipulates the role of the court as an arbiter during all conflict situations. But at the present time we encounter a situation in which the courts, which are overloaded with suits against journalists, view them in by no means all instances with sufficient competency...

Personal Opinion

...Recently I saw a television broadcast from a courtroom: the court was considering the suit initiated by V. Reva, a former investigator of the RSFSR Procuracy and the antihero of an article by Olga Chaykovskaya, entitled "Secrets of the Investigation." But the suit was not against LG. Instead, it was against an author in ZHURNALIST magazine, jurist L. Simkin. The jurist had committed the offense of being so bold as to mention in his article—no, not even Reva's name, but only the sensational Kondratenko case, which had ended in the complete downfall of the investigator, who was removed from his job at the republic procuracy. In connection with this case, a sharply negative evaluation of the work performed by the investigative unit of the RSFSR Procuracy was also provided by the A. A. Sukharev, USSR General Procurator (see LG, 31 August 1988). But for some reason Reva decided at first to sue not A. Sukharev or O. Chaykovskaya, but L. Simkin]

The television cameraman photographed Reva from all angles, as though admiring his impassive face and unhurried gestures... But where did he have to hurry to now?... Now he had apparently decided to "stonewall" the press, promising from the screen that his next suit would be against LG. Actually, he has a confident air and sprinkles his statements with legal terms, attempting to trick Candidate of Legal Sciences L. Simkin into using the

word "falsification" imprecisely. And the court delves seriously into the semantic nuances of the ill-starred word, for which purpose an explanatory dictionary appears on the table, while, all this time, Reva looks penetratingly and triumphantly at the author of the article, who is sitting opposite him. But he knows that he is not right, he knows that the court will deny him his suit, because it is impossible to assume that a former investigator in any especially important cases would not have looked into a dictionary before going to court. But, knowing the outcome ahead of time, he nevertheless has initiated the suit. Why? In order to demonstrate his ignorance? Or his inability to feel a sense of shame? Obviously that is not the reason. It is necessary for him to get revenge. At any cost!..

[A. Udaltsov] ...There is another problem—pretrial articles that are based on investigative materials. The person has not yet been sentenced, but has only been accused. Is it possible for a journalist in this instance, when reporting forthcoming legal proceedings, to write in detail about the facts that the court will be considering?

[B. Krylov] But what if those facts, during the process of court examination, do not find confirmation?

[V. Savitskiy] It is necessary to write prior to the trial, but in such a way that the person who has not yet been sentenced is not considered to be guilty. It is impossible to do otherwise! Otherwise we are retreating from the principle of the presumption of innocence.

[A. Borin] I want to support our jurist guests. Under today's conditions, I am convinced that until the journalist's material responsibility for the mental damage caused by his published articles is established, there must be no pretrial statements. Also, pretrial emotional published items frequently recall the "rally-type" jurisprudence of the 1930's ("Death to Bukharin!"). Frequently even the investigation itself, unable to prove legally the person's blame, resorts to the help provided by newspapermen, using them as a go-between to exert pressure on the court... Thus a suit initiated by an offended person against an editorial office or a journalist is, in principle, a phenomenon which is in my opinion is completely reasonable.

[N. Loginova] In my opinion, the courts are not yet completely ready to consider suits against journalists.

[V. Savitskiy] Nevertheless... It is necessary to welcome in every way a person's going to court if he has been unjustly offended. If the newspaper does not have a fear of being taken to court, then we will be unable to create any harmony between the press and the individual.

[N. Loginova] I would like to lessen somewhat the passionate power of your words. Because most often it is precisely the press that is defending the offended person. And it has always done so.

[Yu. Shchekochikin] It is not the press that has to be afraid. It is we who have already become tired of being afraid.

[N. Loginova] Recently I was at a trial and I heard the judge ask a journalist whether, before he had published his satirical piece, he had shown it to—guess who!—the "hero" of that piece! Obviously, the journalist said, "No." And immediately the judge and the two people's assessors asked in unison, in a surprised tone, "What do you mean, no! You mean that you printed it without trying to prove it?" The journalist took a deep breath and explained to them the ABC's of working in an editorial office. He showed them a folder containing the dossier on his "hero," and the judge and the two assessors—a very nice woman who worked at a knitting factory, and a retired man who also was very likeable—listened mistrustfully. Meanwhile the "hero" of the satirical piece was looking at all of this and probably thinking to himself with a sense of satisfaction, "Now it's your turn to squirm..."

[V. Savitskiy] I don't deny that there are incompetent, slow-thinking, or foolish judges—that is another aspect of the problem. But my main thesis is that the court must always be a guarantor of the individual's rights. Because one also encounters among journalists persons who are relatively incompetent or unconscientious, and if the court does not begin defending them against mistakes that they have made consciously or unconsciously, what we will have is not "the" press, but "a" press.

[A. Udaltsov] But in courts like this, most often it is not the facts that are refuted. The plaintiff, for example, grabs onto some emotionally colored phrase, and then prolonged examination begins. But a journalist's article is not an official statement. It must contain the author's attitude toward the facts. Let's say that I have spoken for an hour with a puffed-up boor, and that is what I have called him in my article. And he wants to take me to court for having insulted him?

[N. Loginova] Moreover, in court he will not deny that he stole 100,000 rubles, but he will try to prove that, say what you will, he is not a puffed-up boor. .

[A. Udaltsov] ...No, he is a lean, ascetic intellectual.

...I interrupt my stenographic record. The jurists here were not unanimous. Some felt that the most important thing is that the facts must conform to reality. There was no dispute with the "others"—what kind of truth can there be without the careful checking of the facts? But can an author, when writing about them, color them with his own emotion? I would reply that he cannot fail to color them. Especially since he can present them in another narrative style if that is necessary for presenting the story (obviously, without distorting the meaning). Because that is what I am doing this very minute—I am rearranging pieces of the stenographic record. Can the participants at the meeting take me to court? Of course

they will not do such an absurd thing, since they realize that a reporter has to compose his facts in a certain way. I suspect that the impartiality of the television lens will prove to be far from impartial—out of the two-hour video tape, my associates in television must present our topic in about 40-50 minutes, rearranging episodes and leaving out certain things. This editing is also a point of view. Will the court understand it if, for example, it has to delve deeply into the precise specifics of a journalist's work? Won't the court take a strictly literal approach and demand, "Well, Comrade Gamayunov, you reflected the course of the discussion incorrectly, and therefore you will have to put a retraction immediately!..." Oh, incidentally, about retractions...

[Yu. Baturin] Our draft stipulates not only the right to a retraction, but also sanctions if a retraction is refused without reason. Members of an editorial board who have voted for an unsubstantiated refusal to print a retraction are punished by a penalty of from 25 to 100 rubles. The editor in chief, in the event of failure to meet the deadline established by the court for printing the retraction, is punished by a fine of 25 rubles, with that amount increased by 3 rubles for every day past the deadline. As for the retraction itself, in our opinion it must be printed in exactly the same size type and in the same place that the article being retracted had appeared.

...Evidently the Law Governing the Press must formulate with the maximum degree of precision the principles pertaining to the situations when the criticized person actually have cause to go to court, and when he does not. This is so that the already overloaded courts will not be overloaded even more.

Is it necessary to summarize? Well, in any case, let us "summarize" the Law Governing the Press, the official version of which will probably be published for its more detailed discussion (and, also, is it possible to adopt without public knowledge a law that will determine the fates of glasnost?). The following are only a few of my final wishes.

—The Law Governing the Press must be formulated in such a precise manner that it cannot be used as a kind of muzzle on journalistic activity. The press is obliged to inform society about absolutely everything—whether it be a governmental session or a court trial. Therefore the article of the Law that will protect the principle of the presumption of innocence must be very precisely worded.

—The press is obliged to be emotional, to interpret the facts, to form public opinion, and to encourage people to think. A journalist is obliged to express his own opinion, giving it the appropriate emotional coloration. Otherwise he will simply be uninteresting...

—The Law Governing the Press must guarantee the journalist the right of access to any nonsecret information from absolutely all departments, and must

define in a clear, publicly announced list what constitutes a state secret. And no official in the state apparatus, regardless of what important position he occupies, should possess the right to expand that list which has been approved by a legislative agency.

—The restructuring of the press is only beginning. New newspapers, magazines, and weeklies have begun to appear. Therefore the Law Governing the Press must reflect the mechanism for creating new agencies of the press, including regional ones.

—This Law must be not a declaration or a collection of slogans, but a working document. It is needed not only by journalists, but also by society as a whole. It must guarantee the press (and the other mass information media) the opportunity to carry out "journalistic examination" of any state or departmental action in any sphere of our life—whether it be the economy, education, culture, art, law, or the ecology. It is precisely this kind of independent and time-responsive examination that is needed by our society and by our nation in order to carry out the perestroika that has been begun.

Changes in Tashkent Periodical Subscription Trends Outlined

18300373a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
7 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by S. Khatamov, chief of the Tashkent City Soyuzpechat Agency: "Subscriptions: Results and Prospects"]

[Text] The subscription campaign for 1989 has come to an end. The circulation of periodical publications in Tashkent alone has increased by 17 percent as compared to 1988. Subscriptions to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA rose more than 72 percent, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—by 250 percent, and the circulation of OGONEK increased by 300 percent. One can be happy for the editorial staffs at the newspapers PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, SOVET UZBEKISTONI, PRAVDA VOSTOKA, and TOSHKENT OKSHOMI, whose circulation increased by from 3 percent to 18 percent.

In our opinion, this was made possible because of these publications' rapid reaction to events in the republic, the nation, and in the world and the courageous disclosure of negative occurrences which have been piling up for years. The journalistic corps did not stop to discern the Table of Ranks nor sidestep any pointed issues.

It seems to us that the public disseminators of the press and the postal and telecommunications workers deserve the credit for the increase in circulation of many publications. In particular, I would like to talk about Irina Nikolayevna Filinovaya from the Tashkent Komfort industrial conglomerate, Yakov Borisovich Shapiro from an assembly plant, Raisa Mikhaylovna Oreshinaya

from a tractor factory, and Yevgeniya Georgiyevna Kiselevaya from Tashtekstil'mash (Tashkent Textile Machinery Plant). Under the leadership of their party and social organizations they skillfully conducted the subscription campaign.

Credit is also due to Valentina Ivanovna Yarenkovaya from the Leninsk subscription station, handler Zebo Talibdzhanovoy from the Oktyabrskiy station, and newsstand attendant Lyubovya Nikolayevna Bersen'yevaya, who was the first in Tashkent to arrange for and register subscriptions totalling five thousand rubles at the Soyuzpechat newsstand. The employees at the Kuibyshev signal office center and the city's main post office also did a good job.

But it is premature to say that everything possible was done in Tashkent to increase subscriptions. Our collective is indebted to the workers in the capital of Uzbekistan. The newspaper KOMSOMOLET'S UZBEKISTANA, the journals PARTIYA TURMUSHI, PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN, and many other publications lost subscribers. While not making excuses for ourselves, I would like to state that this is the readers' reaction to the "insipidity" of some publications.

The decrease in the circulation of some publications is being accounted for by the voluntariness of subscriptions. This is a fact. But aren't communists obliged to raise their ideological and political standards as stated in the Rules of the CPSU. And it is odd when the secretaries of the party committees and the senior officials in the party raykoms only emphasize the voluntariness of subscriptions without explaining that every communist should subscribe to a party journal. I would direct the attention of those who poorly attend to the party publications to the Sergili party raykom. For all practical purposes every communist in this rayon is a subscriber to the party journals.

Since 2 January 1989, the collectives at the postal liaison and Soyuzpechat enterprises have been prepared to accept subscriptions for 1990. How is this different from before? Now there will not be a subscription "campaign" like there was before. It will last until 1 October. Furthermore, most publications will not have any limitations on either individual subscribers or on departmental subscriptions. We only have to get started on this important political work immediately. We should not put it off, after all subscription will come to an end on 1 October and afterwards there will not be a "campaign" as was practiced in the past.

One may register subscriptions at communications branches, at a main post office, at subscription taking points in every district in Tashkent, in philatelic stores, and at individual Soyuzpechat newsstands. In addition, if subscribers so desire, subscriptions can be made at home through the postman and no additional fee is levied, although the will receive a bonus—four percent of the sum of the subscriptions taken. It is better to

register subscriptions at one's own communications branches, which will allow many mistakes to be avoided and in the long run will expedite delivery of the printed material.

In contrast to past years, the publishing houses and editorial staffs of many newspapers, journals, and a number of weekly publications have given their consent to the lifting of all sorts of limits.

In view of a shortage of paper and printing capacity, a number of publishing houses have decided to only distribute their publications by over the counter sales. These are MOSKOVSKIE NOVOSTI in Russian, NEDELYA, SOBESEDNIK, FUTBOL-KHOKKEY, ISKATEL, SILUET, and others, 22 titles in all. These publications are listed in the catalog. Problems concerning subscriptions to the journals ZA RULEM, NASHE NASLEDIYE, publications containing scientific and technical information, book supplements to the journals DRUZHBA NARODOV and OGONEK, as well as subscriptions to foreign publications are being studied. The results of this study will be reported through the organs of the mass media.

Few newspapers and journals are being allotted for over the counter sales. For example, starting on 1 January 1989, the city will receive a total of 560 copies of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 3,500 copies of IZVESTIYA, and 9,200 copies of PRAVDA. Therefore, everything indicates the advantage of subscription.

Uzbek TV Urged To Provide Context for Old Film Broadcasts

18300373b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
11 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Kh. Akbarov, doctor of philological sciences, under the rubric "The Problems With Television Shows": "What Should Be Returned to the Viewer?"]

[Text] The restructuring of the cinema and television presupposes not only structural changes and a profound understanding of artistic problems, but also a study of the experience of the past and returning to the viewer that which was unjustly consigned to oblivion.

It is quite appropriate that films from the 1930's, 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's are currently being shown on the television screen continually. They arouse keen interest. You see, this is not only an artistic phenomenon, but also a documentary of the times. However, simply showing these films is not enough. The viewer must know the history of their making and must approach them critically.

The rehabilitation of some pictures and the analysis of contradictory, and at times even harmful, conceptions in other pictures are a complex task. Those in television,

who are involved in this task, must, above all else, know the history of our multinational cinema and orient themselves in cinematography. Otherwise mistakes are inevitable.

Dogmatic criticism has condemned brilliant and gifted pictures of the most diverse genre. Let us recall the debate over the unusual adaptation of "Navoi" at the end of the 1930's and the critical articles in the press directed toward the creators of the interesting films about modern times and about the distant past—"Daughter of Fergana" and "Nasreddin's Adventure". Let us recall all the more our tribute to the founders of the Uzbek national cinema, who displayed courage in the making of the first Uzbek historical-biographical films and pictures about modern times.

It seems that it is also necessary to create a television account of all this, which should by no means resemble a lecture, a practice which still occurs on television. Cases of distorting reality or of indiscriminate condemnation of pictures should be corroborated by film fragments, press clippings, archival materials, the accounts of eye-witnesses to and participants in the events, the handling of the screenplays, and by showing sketches, costumes, etc.

We must talk about these generally known requirements for the simple reason that the principles for evaluating films from the positions of the present time are not observed in our society and, more importantly, during the selection of pictures for telecasting, current aspirations and important provisions of the Party documents from recent years are not taken into consideration.

Let us look at several examples.

On 16 June of last year, the film "Asal" was offered to television viewers in the "Retro" series. The fifty-year-old picture was not only outdated in the aesthetic sense. It is bankrupt in the ideological respect. The film, which is not devoid of successes by individual actors, has served as a corroboration of Stalin's "theory" concerning the intensification of the class struggle inside the country during the period of the triumph of the socialist system. "Saboteurs" break machines in order to prevent the ideas of the Stakhanovite movement from penetrating Uzbekistan, intimidate and blackmail the front-rank workers, resort to weapons, and, of course, fall into the hands of the State security officials.

Now that we know the truth about the repressions, the propaganda of the works, which attempted to justify them, is blasphemous at the least. The process of restoring democracy and Leninist principles is under way, therefore, does it make sense to show these pictures to an audience of many millions?

After a picture is shown on television, it becomes the property of the general viewer. The list of old films such as "Zhuravushka" and "Queen of the Gas Station",

which are not accepted by either the critics or the viewing audience and which are currently being shown on television, has become endless. And on 30 June, while the 19 All-Union Party Conference was under way, airtime was allotted for a 1976 film, "Selecting the Goal", in which the viewers saw Stalin surrounded by scientists who were paying close attention to him...

Meanwhile "White, White Storks", "Triptych", "I Remember You", "Tashkent—The Grain-producing City", "Insight", "Drama of Love", "A Man Goes After Birds", "Uncut Diamond", and many other pictures, which are worthy of showing and of detailed analysis by the expert-critics and the moviemakers with the participation of the viewers, are still waiting for attention from television.

A retrospective review of films from various years should also assist in solving today's problems in cinematography. And a qualified analysis of the pictures, in view of the atmosphere of the period in which they were made, is required. It is regrettable that during the recent showing of a number of artistic films by Uzbek cinematographers, this was not done.

It is important and necessary now to tell the true story about the creative development of Uzbekistan's cinematographers. During the years of repression, many of them suffered. Khudaybergan Devanov and Suleyman Khodzhaev turned out to be the first victims. Nabi Ganiyev and his confederates were arrested on false information... Kamil Yarmatov had to overcome many artificial barriers on the way to creating a realistic picture about Alisher Navoi and his era. Let us recall yet another case: Sergey Eizenshteyn, who started working on a film in 1939 about the Bolshoy Fergansk canal in Uzbekistan and was forced to discontinue his work. The filming was stopped suddenly and was never resumed. New archival data gives evidence of the tyranny which reigned in cinematography during the personality cult period.

The lessons of the recent past must be presented in a skillful and timely manner. And this is only possible with a competent approach to such a complex phenomenon of artistic life as cinematography, whose present and future depend to a great extent on correcting the gross errors of the past.

Kzyl Orda Media Treatment of Nationality Issues Faulted

18300371 Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN
KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 11, Nov 88 pp 78-80

[Article by G. Rakhmetova: "Spiritual Kinship. About How the Journalists of the Newspaper PUT LENINA, the Organ of the Kzyl-Orda Party Obkom and Oblspolkom, Conduct the Discussion on the Problems of Inter-Ethnic Relations"]

[Text] Since olden times the newspaper has been considered to be a mirror of social life, reflecting all of its merits and its shortcomings. And when, in the recent

past, society failed to notice its problems, preferring the captivity of self-delusion, the mass media also recalled the famous ostrich, which, in the premonition of danger, conceals its head in the sand. Was the newspaper about which we are speaking an exception? Sooner a rhetorical question.

You see, the sand for the space of decades inexorably dried up the Aral Sea, crept up to the dwellings of people, and, lifted up by storms, mixed with salty dust, settled thousands of versts from the shores of the Aral Sea. The deterioration of the ecological situation led to the massive outflow of the population beyond the boundaries of the Oblast. But in the local newspaper of that time there did not appear its Valentin Rasputin, who courageously and convincingly would have come out in defense of the sea and man.

But time has changed, and the prohibitions have been removed from those who with some mention about themselves annoyed someone. And in the oblast newspaper the despairing column "Aral—Our Pain and Hope" appeared. Striking changes have taken place in the character of the printed publication. Its view has become fearless, and its speech intelligent and frank, because that is precisely how the publisher—the oblast party committee, has conducted its affairs.

Here one can suspect that an easy time has begun for Kzyl-Orda journalists, they, they say, can earn authority only conscientiously byreflecting the reality that has become turbulent, picking up and developing hurriedly (and all of us have experience here) the progressive instructions launched from above. But the whole point is that in our changed time it should be crowded for the newspaper in the fragile frames of the mirror. Not for nothing, the mass media were almost unanimously given the place and right of the vanguard of perestroika in the discussions about glasnost at the 19th CPSU Conference.

Such a position is especially important in the illumination of the most acute problems of the present, among which are correctly included the problems of nationality and inter-ethnic relations. Not accidentally I mentioned at the beginning about the mass outflow of the population from the oblast, which occurred in the mid-1970's. You see, not only the deterioration of the climate was a reason for this, but, most all—the crudest defects in the nationality policy which even to this day have not been fully overcome. It is basically people of non-indigenous nationality who left. This was honestly related by the diesel locomotive driver S. Chernopatov at the party obkom plenum:

It was not that Kazalinsk, in the time of my youth, was more multinational, but every nation was then represented by a much larger number of people than now. On one street there lived Kazakhs, Russians, Uzbeks, Germans, Koreans and Tatars. They lived in friendship and openly. And the words "internationalism" [internatsionalizm] and "international" [internatsionalnyy] were

taken to mean friendship with the peoples of other countries, not suggestion that someday will have to ponder over inter-ethnic relations in his country and, in particular, in Kazakhstan. Thus, life did not leave a choice. Either to speak the whole truth about oneself, even if it be a very difficult truth, or to cease to be a unified and multinational family.

Some newspapers have "begun to jabber" the truth, appealing after themselves to be touched by the countless cases of the existence of multinational families, labor collectives, streets, villages, and so forth. PUT LENINA of the first six months of 1988 surprised pleasantly—in its pages the persistent "cracking of heels" could not be heard. The difficult curability of the disease was assessed according to merit. Not more often than twice a month the column "To Raise the Culture of Inter-Ethnic Relations" appears, but one can already speak separately about some of the newspaper's statements.

I think the reader cannot but be interested in the article of the first secretary of the Chilikskiy Party Raykom, A. Abenov, who talked about the new forms of economic cooperation of the rayon's sovkhozes with the enterprises and the farms of the other oblasts and republics. Mutually advantageous relations were able to move housing construction from dead center. Thus contracts for deliveries of Siberian timber with the Pinchugskiy State Timber Industry Enterprise, the Sovkhoz imeni Zalideyev, and SPMK-10 [not further identified] of Krasnoyarsk Krai are in effect. And the Chilik people sent the Siberians brick, hay, grain waste products, and water-melons.

The sincere concern of the author of the report "The Living Thread Must Not Break," Yu. Solomatina, attracts attention. He elucidates why the fate of the formerly progressive Gigant Kolkhoz, decorated with the Red Banner of Labor, is turning out to be difficult. And the reason lies in the fact that the multinational collective, united by long years of joint labor, simply collapsed. The kolkhoz workers began to break from the land because of the violations of the principle of social justice, the gross suppression of the initiative of ordinary toilers, and a predatory attitude to the common property. The author invites the reader to think about how henceforth not to allow destruction either in this kolkhoz, or in other villages and cities.

The statement, in the newspaper, of the foreman of the rayon industrial combine, Sh. Izatov, a Turk by nationality, is seen as very personal. He shares recollections about the dark days of the forceful resettlement of Turkish inhabitants from the Caucasus. About the fact that his family had been compelled to leave the lived-in place, he found out at the front. And only after the war, by sheer luck, he succeeded in finding his family members in Kazakhstan. People in essence had to start a new life. But however bitter about the past extremes, which crippled a good many fates, the family of the Izatovs, like thousands of their countrymen, they found a house, and

friends, who became no less close and intimate. For this reason, the words of a considerably experienced man concerning the necessity of protecting the friendship and trust among people of various nationalities began to fall into the soul.

In short, the Kzyl-Orda journalists are conducting a search for the correct tone in the discussion with the reader—a human and confidential tone. It's the truth, isn't it: If the relations among nations—a political category, then the relations among people were always built and will be built on a moral foundation. Here also the simple story about the Kharkov orphan girl, evacuated to Kazakhstan during the war and who found here parents, whom the tongue does not turn to call stepfather and stepmother, precisely about morals. Thus, Toma Dmitriyeva became Raykhan Rakhymbayeva, retaining throughout her whole life in her heart the spiritual kinship of two peoples—the Russian and the Kazakh. It is only a pity that, having opened up this subject, the newspaper hurried along the smoothly-rolled path, limiting itself to a small sketch. The reflections of Tamara-Raykhan herself about the nature of the relations among people, about the strength of the bonds which have forever linked the two nations, could have become much more interesting.

Without a doubt, in the investigation of the problems of inter-ethnic relations, the newspaper PUT LENINA is aspiring to find its place. But we are heeding the criticism that was heard at the plenum of the Kzyl-Orda Party Obkom: "In the publications of the newspapers and radio broadcasts one still encounters an extremely simplified understanding of the problems of nationality policy, the diversity and acuteness of the problems are not revealed. . . . The special resentment of people is called forth by the distortion of their nationality and biography, as this took place in the newspaper PUT LENINA. It is necessary for the editorial boards of oblast newspapers to reflect objectively, thoroughly and consistently the urgent problems of the social and nationality processes that are taking place in the oblast, and to conduct a lively, interested discussion that is addressed to the concrete needs of man."

Thus, consistency. For the time being, the newspaper only raises questions. It would be time to answer them. For example, a large number of international families lives in the oblast. This fact itself already will not surprise anyone. But how relations in such families take shape, how parents cultivate love and respect to one nation or another in children, the desire to absorb their culture and traditions, to languages—to these questions there are no answers for the time being.

A great deal of research awaits the subject of the tenacity of feudal vestiges at the family and every-day-life level. You see, it is no secret that they are directly or indirectly

supported by some members of the party and even by members of the elective party organs, as this happened in Kazalinsk. It would be useful to elucidate in what way polar ideologies get along in the consciousness of one man.

The reader has the right to demand from the newspaper serious materials about the problems of the development of bilingualism; you see, in the oblast a significant part of even the leaders of the rayon link has a weak command of Russian, and the oblast authorities of the non-indigenous nationality have a poor knowledge of Kazakh. The experience of the language circles that are successfully operating in the same Chilliyskiy Rayon remains closed for many people.

With interest one reads the feuilleton "Mother, I am afraid!", about a Komsomol secretary of a sovkhos, a member of the CPSU, who for several years concealed himself from military service with a false reference about debility. But the subject, which at the junction of questions of international and patriotic education, has not received its further development. The discussion about the service of conscripts of the oblast in the ranks of the Armed Forces, about the course of their adaptation in the multinational army collective, and about the difficulties of overcoming the existing language barrier must be pursued without fail.

Rarely in the pages of PUT LENINA can one encounter a good-quality essay about progressive workers of the indigenous nationality, which significantly better than numerous photographs of them could agitate the local population for working professions.

Incidentally, the genre palette of materials about national and inter-ethnic relations is unwarrantedly monotonous. The articles and reports, frequently organized by the journalists themselves—this is all the newspaper proposed in the first half of the year. Although today, at a time of active study of public opinion, more democratic genres—"round-tables," discussions, and interviews—would suit better. A good effect is harnessed in the publications of readers' letters—here there is an inexhaustible fount of experience, wisdom, and an attitude of not being indifferent! During this time, one selection was published in the newspaper, and what is more, that one, as they say, "far-fetched" from the subject, although it is clear to any journalist that intensified work with letters, the study and the clash of opinions can help the newspaper divine the painful points in social processes, and to find in good time means against the ailment upon its first symptoms. That is to be not a passionless mirror, but. . . a barometer, which shows bad weather already during a serene and sunny day.

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First Moscow Church Since Restructuring Began Returned to Believers

18120065 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 10, 12-19 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Dmitry Radyshevsky: "Church Reconsecrated"]

[Text] Metropolitan Vladimir said the blessing at the consecration ceremony on February 23 of the Michael Archangel Church in Troparyovo, in Moscow's South-West.

Since 1939 the church had served alternatively as a granary, a warehouse for stage sets and a workshop. It's last "owner", a monumental-decorative art works, had to be persuaded to vacate even after receiving orders from the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet. This is the first church in Moscow to be returned to Christians since the start of perestroyka.

We recently described the state this splendid 300-year-old church is in MN No. 6. A huge crowd of believers (this is the only church for three adjacent city districts), gathered for the consecration, saw the twisted iron roofing, the blank pitted walls charred by two fires, the neon lights instead of church-chandeliers and flaking plaster. Restoration of the church will have to go hand in hand with services for two years. Shortly before the consecration ceremony, a couple of people returned icons from the church which they had been safeguarding. One man, who lives in Peredelkino near Moscow had even managed to preserve the church's holy gates.

Church consecration is one of the most spectacular Orthodox Church ceremonies. This ceremony was to cleanse the church of the filth, vanity, triviality and sin that had accumulated there over 50 years.

"Consecration and Renewal", the hymn sung in this devastated and cold church, was addressed not just to the church and its parish, but to all of us.

Journalist Describes 4-Day Stay in Seminary

18000547 Moscow OGONEK in Russian
No 5, 28 Jan-4 Feb 89 p 30

[Article by Anatoliy Tsurulnikov: "From the Life of a Seminary"]

[Text] Outside the window of the classroom there was bright sunlight, the caw of the crow and the ringing of bells. Inside it was quiet. A lesson was underway, just like in many other schools. But not quite as no other school except this one teaches Latin, homiletics or the liturgy. Nor do they wear the same uniform with black trousers and a black jacket. This school is called a clerical seminary. For long years we avoided it in suspicious silence. It existed but somehow was not part of our world. One spoke of it in a semiwhisper. Those who

crossed its threshold were looked upon with perplexity. But most of all there was ignorance in relation to this school. What did I know about it?

First Day. First Impressions

It is not reminiscent of a lycee. There is the morning prayer at 5:30. There are neatly made beds. Embroidered white collars. At 8 o'clock there is breakfast with prayers before and after, from 9 until half past 2 there are lessons, then lunch, independent study, works of penance, choir, supper with reading aloud, evening prayers and lights out at 11. In truth, there are holidays and days off and on Sundays a movie is shown.... But at first glance it would be wrong to complain about the excessive organization of the secular school.

In the corridor I spoke with the seminarians and asked what the seminary was like. One person, after the army, compared it with "drill." But not exactly as, he added, "here there is no barracks."

It also is not reminiscent of a barracks. Rooms with the stucco decoration of the 17th Century. Colored marbled floors with pictures on the walls. In the mornings young girls in white uniforms give out live roses.

At 9 exactly, a bell rings and the latecomers hurry up the old winding stairway. The assistant inspector from those whom the students happily style the "jacket estate," checks the watch. "One minute has passed," he says severely. "Two minutes already." Now the instructor and then the student with a stuffed professorial briefcase, hiking up their cassock, hurries along, taking two steps at a time. The assistant inspector sighs after him. The same assistant or the inspector himself (the face is not round but rather strict), having stopped in the corridor, talks sincerely about something with a student. Not a barracks and not a lycee but a clerical school.

It consists of two parts: the specialized secondary or seminary and the higher clerical academy. There is also an academic council and something like graduate studies which award the titles of docent and professor, as well as the degree of master and doctor of theology (it is possible to become a candidate from student times). Around 600 young persons are studying from 16 years and older. Some 100 young girls in the regent school are preparing to become church choir leaders. Some 900 persons are correspondence students.

Admissions here have trebled over the last 15 years. I was late and had I arrived sooner I could have seen the admission exams. As it was there was only an announcement at the entrance: "Those admitted to the first year should read old Slavonic well and write Russian literately. It is required to have a firm and comprehended knowledge by heart of the following prayers...." I counted 26. "That is not the most important thing."

commented the inspector of the seminary, Father Venedikt. "But what is the most important?" "A priest is not a profession," he smiled.

Later on I heard this repeatedly from others. I was told this and it was expected that this would be understood to go without saying, that in this school as well as others the most brilliant knowledge and abilities were not enough. A person might know a great deal and be able to do many things, but if God was not in his soul...or the question of Lev Tolstoy: "Telegraphs to transmit what?... Books, newspapers to disseminate information about what? Railroads to travel where?... Hospitals, physicians and pharmacies to extend life but why extend life?"

For this reason the entrance exams are not prayers. Rather it is the week which the applicant lives before the crucial decision, in becoming immersed in the life of the seminary with its discipline, restraints, services, books and community. It is the preceding weeks and months of life in the community which provides a recommendation to far from everyone. Finally, this is the four required talks, individual, one on one, which are conducted with each applicant by the rector, prorector, the inspector and senior assistant, ascertaining not so much knowledge as what a professor at a technical VUZ had in mine: "Possibly exams could be eliminated?" he wondered. "Give instead free compositions on why you want to come here? For what reasons? We teach integrals...."

This is why, I feel, there are virtually no uncommitted persons here. There is virtually no drop-out. There are no persons unsuited for a vocation in the sense which at times is given not to a job but to serving. Here they do not teach angels. But it is equally naive to assume that they come for a career or fabulous earnings. It is 8 years of hard study. In the allocating of churches far from everyone will end up in a favorable place. The stipend of a seminarian (with board and lodging) is 15 rubles a month.

The Second Day. Lessons

"Are you an auditor?" I was asked by the first-year students. "Something like that." "We put your bag on the chair. Because...Father Feofilakt is strict."

A classroom like any other classroom. Desks, chairs, a blackboard and chalk. In the corner was an icon and in the center a chair.

In the course of the lecture one begins to gain respect for Jan Amos Komensky. Some 300 years ago he conceived of the classroom-lesson system. I would scarcely propose that it be employed for a universal secondary school. But under other conditions it is working now. In any event, it is skillfully utilized in the clerical school.

The instruction is the most traditional: a pair of lectures, a break and then another pair. In the seminary there are questioning periods and grades. A homework assignment. It cannot be said that here they were completely unconcerned with educational methods. But the main question of pedagogics for them here I would put in the form of a "trinity": who is teaching? Who is studying? And what?

For what we teach, for instance, in a secondary school much is actually not essential. If it were possible to transmit information in bypassing the mother tongue then possibly this would not exist in a school. From this viewpoint it is not very comprehensible why there is Ancient Greek, Latin, Ancient Hebrew, Old Church Slavonic, Russian, English, German and French.... The books in the academy library are in a hundred languages. "Do they read in all of them?" I asked Father Vadim. "No," he admitted, "no one knows Altaic."

This does not mean that they study all the 99. They choose. The required ones are one ancient language, a modern language and Russian. Probably this is enough to master others if they so desire.

Why an ancient language is required I understood in the first year in a lesson...of our mother tongue. They were writing out a sentence from Turgenev's "Fathers and Children." Bazarov said to himself that he looked at the heavens only when he yawned or wanted to swear. "Well, my fathers," the instructor asked, "what is man in Greek?"

I only knew "Homo sapiens," being confident that this only meant a reasonable man. I did not spot the root "humus" but now as earth or decay. I simply did not know about "anthropos" also a man but one striving upwards. For this reason such a question scarcely entered my mind: "Is Bazarov Man?"

These are not methodological tricks. Simply another level of culture.

I will not take it upon myself to judge whether this is possible without logic, philosophy, literature or art. It is possible without rhetoric. There is not a trace of it in the clerical school either as a subject or as a style of instruction. The lectures are exceptionally calm and even somewhat arid. This is unexpected as there are cassocks, the chair, prayers but no theater. No one breaks the farce. No one argues with pathos about things which for man are so essential that to say them aloud is impermissible. There is no dogmatism. This is also strange as there is the subject "dogmatic theology" but no dogmatism. The instructor puts over his ideas without forgetting the others. The students can contest him. And the polite reply is "your arguments are purely emotional."

Probably this also relates to a culture, the ability to calmly discuss a question from different viewpoints and to conduct a debate correctly. Those debates which we

out of habit conduct with the Church here evoke nothing except smiles. "If God did not exist then he would have to be thought up...." "This quotation in a school textbook is incomplete, my fathers," the instructor notes calmly in the third year of the seminary. "Voltaire went on to say: 'But it is facetious to assert that the organization of the world does not prove the existence of a supreme creator'...."

I could hear someone practicing scales. Music here is a compulsory subject from the first year to the last. In the winding corridors of the seminary one can hear at one moment a distant choir, then these scales played on the piano or simply a student passing by humming a non-secular melody.

Seemingly this is the only place in the nation where they seriously master the ancient Russian system of singing. They produce basses who at one time were the glory of Russia. I am unable to get across the choirs or sounds. But a lesson can be a happy one: "Baritones, why are you singing at less than full voice? Don't digress from the line. Fellows, you have such a beautiful swing! Angelic, without the first tenors, like cherubs...oh Valerka, you are also a cherub!"

A bell rings for the break. Not a church bell, not the small bell which the hall attendant rang in the corridors in my school years. It was an ordinary school bell, electric. "Don't you dare miss our lecture," warned a deacon with a braid, "we ourselves are dying from boredom."

As in any school, there are problems. Including the familiar one of how to teach persons with different abilities and with a different educational level in the same classroom? Certainly here they are very different, from the school pupil to the university student. A predominant majority has a secondary education but this also varies. The graduates from the secondary schools of a number of regions of the nation—and this you can be persuaded of with your own eyes—are fundamentally illiterate, they make terrible grammatical errors and "know nothing about history," as the instructor Father Vasilii commented. This is not surprising as for many years the schools turned out people who had not read Karamzin and Klyuchevskiy, who did not know who Boris and Gleb were or what Sergey Radonezhskiy had done.

Third Day. Father Artemiy

He is young, charming and slightly ironic. He has something of Pushkin's lightness. Recently he was a graduate of the philosophical faculty and then a teacher in one of the most brilliant Moscow schools. I know from whence his expression which he frequently directs to the students: "My friends, here we have direct speech. 'What is humility?' we asked the elder. 'Do you have that down?'"

Why did one constantly see him in a different classroom. Everything was the same: the same "my friends," the same smile and speech.

"By humility one usually considers," he said as if not for me but also for me, "slavish down-troddenness, a humble state of man. We are not slaves, slaves are not us. They are different things...but at the same time, as the hermit fathers explain," and he was now commenting without irony, "there is a barren tree. It can be luxurious, with an abundant crown, with upward rising branches, but barren. And next to it is an apple tree. The more fruit it has, the lower the boughs bend to the ground."

In talking he at the same time makes light sketches on the blackboard, as if depicting the profiles of his heroes in the fields with a pen.

Later we stroll along the fence of the seminary and at my request he talks about himself, about this school and about the other one the number of which he requests I not mention because he does not want to cause them pain where generally things were good for him. And what importance this number has. He was teaching in a physics and mathematics school until a young girl saw him cross the threshold of a church.

"And then," he continued, "the mother ran off to the school and reported to the principal that a young, as they said, 'charming' teacher had gone into a church. A commissioner from the rayon public education department came to see me. The lesson, it seemed to me, was not bad. I was certain that I had never had such a good lesson. But then I was summoned to see the principal. With a knowledge of rhetoric, they say: 'We have seen many lessons and we have found a good beginning in each of the weakest. Together we could raise this beginning and produce a teacher. But in the given instance we have never had such a gloomy impression as with this lesson.'"

Thus he left the school.

The Fourth Day. The Seminarians

The dress is the same for all, but some are wearing boots and others show a striped shirt peeking out under the jacket. They walk alone or in twos but here there are no "tusovok." At the same time, there is something common in the faces of the seminarians. I screwed up my courage and asked one. He burst into laughter and unexpectedly replied with the verses of Andrey Voznesenskiy: "An unsettled generation, we all alone rage for the truth...."

He was called Andrey Kurayev. Thin, short and with round glasses. He looked like an adolescent. A former first-year philosophy graduate student. Now again...in his first year.

"Possibly time was pressing?"

"Any time is God's. That was not the problem. We did not end up here as a sign of protest."

He has already spent several years in this lycee. How did he happen to get here? In the university he was carrying out a Komsomol assignment and was responsible for atheistic propaganda. Each Sunday, the students were sent to church to observe how many people and how many young people came, what they spoke about and what they urged. If they spotted one of their own that would go in a special column.... That was how he first came to the church.

They arrive here by different ways. A half is from nonreligious families. When at home they learn about the plans, there usually is a scandal and tears. There were instances when they were hauled off to the "psychiatric clinic." At the beginning of the 1960s, when the churches were closed, the police stood on the approaches to the seminary. A former seminarian, a priest related: they made their way through the forests and lived in cellars. You brought your documents in July, the exams were in August and for 2 months you hid. At that time, many resolved that they would have to suffer for the cause.

Andrey arrived at a different time. It was his own free choice. It did not ask how and why he did this. Among the seminarians generally these questions are not discussed. Initially, he was also amazed and this even disappointed him. Here there is much that is unexpected. You think that you will find recluses but you encounter normal "buoyant," as Andrey puts it, fellows. Because here in principle it is inconceivable that some seminarians would impose their views on others. It is hard to express in words why this is so. There is the same philosophy and the same values. They live constantly in the presence of one another. "Gradually an understanding comes," he said, "that we are not alike externally but are alike internally."

In his mouth the word "freedom" has a strange ring. He knows all its philosophical definitions and all the stages. "The early stage is the 'freedom from' and then 'freedom for' and 'freedom for the sake of.' Unfortunately, 'freedom from' has more often been employed in Russia. As Vystotskiy said: 'Yesterday I was given freedom but what will I do with it?'"

He read something to me from Galich (along with St. Augustine and Zlatoust): "I choose the freedom of Norilsk and Vorkuta...."

I only met several seminarians and I will not take it upon myself to draw generalizations. But least of all it seemed that they were "dark," "deceived," "broken" or "self-loving" young men. Far from the worst come here and this must be said directly. And the choice was not made idly. Rather it was one of reflection. In those weeks and

hours of a life when a person resolves to come to terms with himself, how can one escape from the ordinary daily questions and focus on the main thing. What am I? What is my purpose? Why?

But if you think about it during these difficult, crucial moments in life, who stands next to a young person? A father? A teacher? A physician? What books, what events of the very recent past would help acquire spiritual freedom and faith? "Faith is not the pressure of authority," says Andrey, "I am a little man, I will obey. Faith is a breakthrough. Based on nothing, with no determinism. 'There is only faith when the invisible heavens are above you.' And not because you have been backed into a corner by proofs."

In talking with him, you realize that if they have missed something it is moral culture. Possibly with this generally began alienation from culture, the deculturization and warping of indoctrination. "My organ which believes has atrophied," commented one writer. Has much thought been given to these organs of the growing man, not digestion, but rather faith, hope, love, repentance and chastity? Seemingly, only Sukhomlinskiy has been seriously concerned with this and he has been accused of Christianity. And who accused him? Although in thinking this way, you trip yourself up in that moral culture is lacking not in them but primarily in yourself. "Were you at Artemiy's lesson?" Andrey asked. "In 'Gospoda Golovlevykh' [Misters Golovlev] he makes a slight correction: instead of saying: 'Iudushka is greedy' says: 'Iudushka is overwhelmed by the passion of greed'."

A slight correction...but this is a universal of moral culture. Iudushka is not identical with his greed. Raskolnikov is not identical with his crime. To see the individual in any student. To believe in the better in man. Where does all of this come from?

"...Stalinists do not study here. There are also those from the Pamyat Society, although seemingly the church. One of the fellows brought a cassette with Vasilyev. 'What do you think this is?' 'That is not the case.' 'All the same, they are facts.' 'But look at yourself,' I say. 'You have listened to this and how do you feel? Irritation. And that is not a Christian feeling.'"

"Heresy in the understanding of the church is a limitation. Instead of the completeness of truth a paring. It is as if you put on a suit and in one place it is tight and another loose. Either you fit the truth to yourself or yourself to the truth. Truth is given for growth...."

In the room where we were philosophizing, a neighbor came in, jovial and humming something to himself. He changed the bed. Today was their bath day. "Andryukha, shall I change it for you? Are you still sitting here, you were to have gone for the watermelon." "You are younger." "Well, get going elder." "Give something for the stipend."

The neighbor put on the electric samovar and left. An ordinary student dormitory if it were not for the icons on the nightstands. Icons and books.

"Here they do not teach a sum of cannons but rather spiritual tact and taste. Not so much knowledge is transmitted as is the order of a mentor's soul and the experience of spiritual life."

"...What does the seminary also teach? It also teaches attention. The life of a priest is attention for others. The life of a man is attention for himself. Why, you wonder, can he become a priest at the age of 23? And if one learned to see oneself one could also see others, without knowing any Freud, Vygotskiy or Leontyev.... Without mentioning that modern man needs simply a tender glance directed precisely at it, not higher than the eyes, at the icon...."

Andrey put on his jacket to go off for the watermelon and at the same time to show me Lavra so that I would not leave without seeing anything. It was as if he had forgotten that the seminary was in Lavra.

...It was a clear day and the domes were shining. There was a crowd of tourists. Andrey commented that particularly important foreigners were guided by monks but the Soviet did not even have tour conductors. They read a book then guided. But he did not condemn. "It is impossible to obtain a theological education without having sacrificed your fate."

Did this comment apply to himself? I do not know. It seemed to me that there is a certain secret room which is still not completely full for him. He says that each person has such a room and each person endeavors to fill it with something: one with work, another with children and still another with something else. But all of this is temporary. "Would you like me to sell the idea?" he

suddenly proposed. "It is the difference of two civilizations. The modern one is focused on the youth in all ways—in fashion and in propaganda. The previous one was aimed at the old. The culture of dying had departed. Old age was a time when one should think about one's soul. Understand what Belmont said: 'The day is only good toward evening, life is all the clearer the closer we are to death'..."

The end is still not at hand. We were able to buy a watermelon at the market and in a fast-service restaurant not far from the seminary eat some pelmeni, a favorite dish of Andrey's while "in civvies." We were able to inspect Lavra inside and out, not the postcard views but rather from the old lanes of Zagorsk which at this place looked like the countryside with huts and barns....

I felt that he did not merely want to show me Lavra, the seminary, but also to throw up some bridges so that those whom I would tell would look perhaps a little differently at what was occurring here and at those who were here. And they are not from a different world, how they think, how they worry and how they seek the truth for growth.

A week later I was in one of the areas of the Nonchernozem zone and encountered the real life of those who had completed the seminary and who had also not completed it. I concluded that it was not a question of the seminary. It is possible to complete an academy but live far from according to its laws. But it is possible, being a self-taught person, to clear the dirt off the church, to raise the ruins and build domes standing on scaffolds. As a worker, a foreman. A person with a spiritual calling. And if he is there, if you encounter him here or there, it means he has a seminary behind him. It is there, it can be seen from the rubble.

It is a time to collect stones, a time to build.

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Lyubimov, Mozhayev Interviewed on Background to Banned Play

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[Interview with Yuri Lyubimov, Boris Mozhayev, and Valery Zolotukhin by Olga Martynenko: "'Alive' Remains Alive"]

[Text] By portraying the life of the Russian peasant Fyodor Kuzkin, I wanted to reveal the impact of the terrible tragedy of "the year of the great change", when millions perished in the wholesale collectivization of peasants and when knowledgeable and able people were ousted. When useless farming management systems were introduced and inept managers put in charge. I wanted to see what the Russian national character would do faced with this impasse.

Boris Mozhayev

How They Buried "Alive"

Before the curtain parted the director thought he should bring some order in the overcrowded auditorium. Politely but firmly, he asked the young men to give up their seats to older men seated on the floor in the aisles. Restoring justice among his audience Yuri Lyubimov proceeded to restore it on stage. So the production of "Alive" was launched 21 years after its first rehearsals, dry runs and auditions before bigwigs. Before talking about the production itself, it is sensible to talk about the drama that preceded it and which involved Yuri Lyubimov, Boris Mozhayev, author of the play "Alive", and actor Valery Zolotukhin who plays its central character.

[Yuri Lyubimov] Mozhayev wrote his story "From the Life of Fyodor Kuzkin" in 1957. After a lag of ten years it was printed in NOVY MIR, we did a production based on it and it was shut down. I was fired, but then reinstated in my job. This was in the spring of 1968 during the Czechoslovak events.

[Boris Mozhayev] Yekaterina Furtseva, Minister of Culture, received us shortly before we showed "Alive" to her. In her office there were her deputies. The discussion was heated and substantial. We finally managed to persuade the minister that the production should be allowed. She waved her hand resignedly: "OK, go on with the rehearsals. When you're ready, we'll come along and see it". We continued work, the day of the official preview came and there was an unpleasant incident with Jean Vilar.

[Yu. Lyubimov] Jean Vilar, the noted French actor and director, who once was at the head of the Theatre national populaire in Paris, was visiting the USSR at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture. At a lunch I mentioned to him I was hurrying off to a rehearsal of "Alive". He wanted to see it. How could I decline such a reasonable request from my colleague? Jean Vilar didn't

speak Russian and he came together with L'HUMANITE correspondent Max Leon. Then an excited theatre manager appeared in the auditorium and demanded that Vilar should leave the rehearsal. A demeaning and shameful experience!

[E. Mozhayev] No bosses came for the official preview. Instead myself and Yuri Petrovich were summoned to the Ministry of Culture. Furtseva wasn't there to receive us. Her deputies said without beating about the bush that no one had allowed the production and asked on what authority we were proposing to proceed with it? We told them about our previous meeting with the minister which the deputies attended. They said without batting an eyelid they didn't remember anything of this kind.

[Yu. Lyubimov] Deputy Minister Kukharsky, who appeared on the scene later, said plainly: "What use is it talking with them? The production should be shut down and that's that."

[B. Mozhayev] The director was expelled from the Party and dismissed from his job for the "slandorous" production. He wrote to Brezhnev who took pity: let him work on. In two weeks or so Lyubimov was reinstated in the Party: OK, Yuri Petrovich, we overreacted, beg your pardon. But the production was stillborn because of the pressure from Grishin, then First Secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee.

A year later there was a sudden phone call to the theatre: the minister was coming! Entered Yekaterina Furtseva, her fur coat dangling from her shoulders, accompanied with a retinue of 34 persons. Everyone was turfed out of the auditorium; not even a mouse could have slipped in.

The first act barely ended when Furtseva shouted. "Get me the author! Listen, my dear man," she said, "you should drop this conventionality!" What's conventional about it? "Everything, everything, everything! The devil knows what a mess your play is. Get the director here! Director, how did you dare to stage such an anti-Soviet piece? What did the management think of it?" The management liked it. "What about the Party committee?" The Party committee liked it, too. "OK. The whole company should be disbanded. Is there Soviet power in this theatre?" There is, I said, but it is genuine, while we ridicule the one you have in mind....

There were three further attempts to renew the production—the last was in 1975 when the minister was Demichev.

[Yu. Lyubimov] The last attempt was the saddest. There was a preview and it fetched 90 remarks. We were given two months to make alterations. As we learned later, this was an open mockery: while we were trying to make amendments the decision to stop the production had

been made. And then came the last discussion whose verbatim record has been preserved and which will be published, I hope, either in MOSCOW NEWS or in some other paper.

We had invited writers, journalists and actors for the discussion. Many turned up including Tikhonov, Tendryakov, Baklanov, Soloukhin, Yanshin. The Ministry of Culture brought along agricultural experts to use them to slap us around.

[V. Zolotukhin] This was a remarkable affair. After that meeting I went to give a concert at a stock-breeding farm near Moscow. The manager came and said to me: "Well, we've met, I saw a beautiful production in your theatre." Which one? "Well, about Kuzkin, the one we shut down." I asked the manager: You know, my father was a collective farm chairman, I lived in the country and I know that what was portrayed in the play was true, and didn't he think so? He said, he did, only they had been told not to say so. They had been summoned to Moscow a week and a half before the discussion and instructed on how to kill the production.

[Yu. Lyubimov] Soloukhin hit the nail on the head when he said: "It's like getting together police inspectors and asking them if Gogol's play 'The Inspector-General' should be allowed. The discussion was taking place right near the stage and it looked like a third act: as if all the bureaucrats in the play walked off the stage into the auditorium and proceeded to stop the play about themselves. Consider, for example, what is perhaps a historic remark by the former editor of SELSKAYA ZHIZN who shouted nervously: 'Even if all this existed in real life we should think it doesn't!'" [quotation marks as published]

[B. Mozhayev] The "Kuzkin" affair started when two unsigned articles in PRAVDA severely criticized my story and Bykov's book "The Dead Can't Feel Pain." This brought on accusations from the Union of Soviet Writers. Its First Secretary Markov accused me at the Writers' Congress of denigration of the Soviet countryside with the result that my works weren't published for 6-7 years and even my name wasn't mentioned in print.

[Yu. Lyubimov] I should add that the attitude to our theatre was equally bad and biased. The then bosses decided that the production was even more harmful than the story, that it made the story even more forceful. But that's what the stage is about. This only means that the characters in the story are true to life.

It's a pity though that Jean Vilar is no longer with us, and he can't rejoice together with us and see that the situation has changed: no one has to be asked to leave the auditorium during rehearsals. I, for example, was not asked to leave.

Academician Protests Limitations on Film, Publishing Cooperatives

18/20066b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 6, 12-19 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Tikhonov, economist, professor of the Academy of the USSR National Economy, member of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences: "One Law Contradicts Another"]

[Text] Before me is a copy of an instruction signed by Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic L. Kits addressed to the Stroitel building co-op: "Henceforth all changes in the board members and personnel shall be co-ordinated with the Republic's Council of Ministers." The document also directs the co-op to elect a new chairman of the board. Then there is the ruling by the Prionezhsky district executive committee instructing the building co-op that it may not create any branches or contract for projects outside the Republic, that it must do at least half its construction work in the Prionezhsky District. Meanwhile the district executive committee cannot provide the co-op with any raw materials or money up front.

Funny. As if the Law on Cooperatives didn't exist. As if the officials were unaware that their instructions contradict the Law. Amateurish bans are plaguing the cooperative movement. On top of these now we have the recent decree limiting certain co-op activities, especially publishing and film production.

Who stands to gain from that? Is the market already saturated with masterpieces of fiction, art and science? Have the state publishing houses, film studios and film distributors already produced everything people could ever ask for? No. Look at what's on the shelves in the bookshops, look at the long queues of people wanting to turn in their old newspapers, magazines and useless books for the right to buy the books they really want. Consider the black market prices for books. Think of the films that are shown. How often does a good film get to a small village? Read the press devoted to the arts. Watch the TV talk shows with leading authors, film makers and book publishers. Then you'll see how enormous the unsatisfied demand for culture is.

Why are cooperatives' intellectual activities a crime?

The copying of films has been banned, we are told, to prevent "video piracy". Publishing has been banned to prevent the "printing of pulp" and porno.

Think about it. What relation is there between crime and the production, distribution and screening of original Soviet films which is now done by as few as three cooperatives. (They operate under the appropriate government agencies.)

Do the authors of this ban know that the entire Soviet film industry was cooperative before 1932? That this cooperative industry produced such masterpieces as "Holiday of St. Jorgen", "The Trial of Three Millions", "A Start in Life", "The Descendant of Genghiz Khan" and "Three Songs About Lenin"?

The reasons for the bans are all too familiar. For 60 years we have been shielded and protected from all that was considered bad and pernicious. What good did this do our literature, art and sciences (especially social science)? Didn't we have pulp "in the worst sense"? Weren't there works by Brezhnev, Chernenko, Kochetov, Markov, Shevtsov and other "classical authors"? Weren't they countered by samizdat works by Pasternak, Akhmatova, Zamyatin, Platonov, Nabokov, Solzhenitsyn, Orwell and Cohen which people read at the risk of being sentenced for "propagating ideas alien to socialism and harmful...", etc.

So why provoke another samizdat boom with these bans? Without even having dismantled glasnost?

For six decades we lived with total ban on self-expression and self-assertion. Why? To prevent possible crimes by a dozen social monsters? And what was the result? Society had to reconcile itself to the ideology of bans. Meanwhile social monsters multiplied hand over fist—including among those who were issuing the bans.

No, the latest bans aren't directed against criminals. Crime can't be fought by bans, only by an effective law-abiding court or militia action.

The official who knows "what is forbidden and why" minced no words in a recent newspaper article: "All cooperative activity must be in line with *one* indispensable condition (my italics—V. T.): they must not be ideologically, socially or morally dangerous to society or its individual members." And that's that: he's worried about our social and moral condition. The people awakening from long years of sleep and social apathy, he thinks, cannot differentiate without bans between the moral and the immoral, the social and the antisocial. The same old song: no one is intelligent enough, quick enough or wise enough to be trusted.

Writer Mozhayev on Problems in Rural Life
18000592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with the writer Boris Mozhayev by A. Artsibashev: "What Is Changing in the Countryside?"]

[Text] The name of Boris Mozhayev stands in a category by itself. Of peasant origin and knowing rural life first-hand, he was probably one of the first to raise his voice about the misfortunes of the postwar countryside, the reasons for the decline in the economy of the nonchernozem kolkhozes and sovkhoses, the devastation and return to nature of the lands which at one time fed generations of Russian people. In the village of Pitelino in

the ryazan area a conversation was held between the journalist A. Artsibashev and Boris Mozhayev on how to resurrect the peasant in the real peasant and what, in his view, impedes this.

[Artsibashev] The peasant question for Russia, it can be said, has become a traditional one. The years pass but the countryside is still at the crossroads. What concerns you most at present in rural life?

[Mozhayev] Forgive me, but the peasant question has "not become" but has always been traditional. And it should not at all be a question of what concerns us in rural life but rather what the state will do if agriculture finally withers up. Successful farming without an independent plowman is inconceivable. Over the last 60 years in our nation, the plowman, our "sower and storer," has become something like a day laborer and the attitude toward him has been despicable. Certainly among the people the image of the plowman stands next to the knight and in some ways is even more intelligent than the latter. Recall the fable about Mikul Selyaninovich. A peasant was walking along the road with a sack on his back and behind him a horseman in armor. And he could not overtake the peasant. "Stop!" he shouted. "What do you have in your bag?" "Gravity." "Give it to me!" "Take it if you can live it." The peasant took the bag off his shoulder and Svyatogor dismounted. Grabbing the bag with both hands, he sank into the ground to his knees but could not move gravity.

No, one cannot overcome gravity all at once, jumping off a steed or getting up from behind the leader's desk. It gives itself only to long experience and resourcefulness to the independent farmer. I frequently recall the excellent words said long ago on this question: "A peasant walks along the crest of a hill. He is plowing the land. A year, a life, a score of centuries. And the earth knows to whom it belongs. Its master is the person who plows a furrow through it and whose sweat waters this furrow before the grain. The farmer disappears from this land and everything disappears. Neither verses, nor feats or history remains."

This is what concerns me most. My other concern is that one of the most dangerous illusions which is still present among a large portion of the bureaucratic apparatus is its assertion and even the attempts to assert to the people that the kolkhozes and sovkhoses can now live freer and that they have now become the complete masters. We are expecting from the farms energetic actions, an increase in the crops, milk yields and weight increases while they, these farms, are bound hand and foot. The newspapers write a lot about this. For what reason?

To my question asked recently of the leadership of the Voronovo Sovkhoz in Podolskiy Rayon of Moscow Oblast: "Are things going better for you in recent years?" I heard a solid "Worse!"

And rivaling one another, including the director himself Goncharov, they set to listing the disasters. For instance, previously we had a sham annual plan, although it was produced in September. We realized it was either unfeasible or would be our undoing and we tried to escape, that is, we were able to reduce some deliveries...and although they shouted at us, still we could talk with them. Now there is the annual order, that is, the same plan but only further increased and we are strictly warned: "The state order is an order." It is not to be discussed and they also prescribe what is to be sown and planted.

And so, "as easy as pie," as they say, they put in the hand of the director or the chairman a sheet of paper which briefly and clearly states how much of what must be delivered and that is it! That is, in restructuring we have run right into pure allocating.

I saw Goncharov's state order. It was the very same plan but with increased indicators, as the bureaucrats say. And the director will no longer speak with a writer one on one as he knows that previously he had problems but now they would reduce him to dust. For this reason he invited in for the discussion ten persons—all the leadership of the sovkhov. And so they rushed to describe everything, interrupting one another.

Previously they at least made an effort to correlate the plan with the delivery of equipment and fertilizers, complained, I recall, Gudenko, the deputy director. Now everyone is assembled at the rayispolkom and the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] economist Raisa Petrovna reads off the numbers of the state order and this is it!

Previously along with the annual plan the farm was sent a delivery plan, that is, the allocations and limits for the sale of equipment, building materials, fertilizers and so forth. It was a sham plan.... But the villagers still worked their way out, they demanded and secured something for the farm. Now they give neither limits nor allocations for the state order. And now from the RAPO they send out or rather sell not what the sovkhov needs but what is on hand.

Do they consider the specialists? The chief agronomist of the same sovkhov Levkovich in essence has been victimized: either plant rape seed or plow under the alfalfa or clover for potatoes.... Well, last year they raised rape seed under the order. But they would not take it and they wanted oil! There was no oil press. What should they do? They decided to feed the rape seed to the livestock. But this grain, it turns out, contains erucic acid and this causes the animals' wool to fall out.

For instance, they also take away all the farm's potatoes. The state order, for example, was for 1,900 tons but they were forced to deliver 2,200. Before this, they said that the sovkhov had the right to freely sell 30 percent of the product of the plan, that is, 540 tons. But pressure was

brought to bear. At their own discretion they decided to sell just 40 tons. A protest was made. As they were told: "Last year you freely sold 30 tons, right? Right! Well now, we have made an increase of all 10 tons. Why do you need more?"

Recently in PRAVDA three chairmen Starovoytov, Plyutinskiy and Volovikov spoke in detail on the hopeless position the kolkhozes found themselves. And certainly they are all leading farms. The Voronovo Sovkhov is also a leading one. What can be said about the mediocre ones, let alone those "lying on their bellies"?

The conclusion is perfectly obvious! The existing command-administrative system in agriculture and in industry, although it has outlived itself, if one were to judge it in essence, so to speak, in theory, but in fact, in practice is alive and flourishing. And as in the previous times of stagnation, it destroys and suppresses the kolkhozes and sovkhovs. And, in truth, it is awkward to hear on the radio and see on television the top leaders of the APK [agroindustrial complex] who endeavor to justify the necessity of their enormous personnel which claims monopoly control of agriculture.

At times, these high officials complain: yes, we have allowed the farms to freely sell almost one-third of the above-planned product, but the grass roots personnel has not carried out this decision. But to whom is this grass roots personnel, that is, the RAPO subordinate? To them. As they say, it is a question of one of two things: either the superiors are giving unreasonable instructions or the subordinates do not take them into account. Who of them must be forgiven to leave them in their chairs? Possibly, both should understand that the time has come to pitch in and not impede restructuring....

It is time ultimately to make clear one minor point: agriculture is the mightiest and most mobile sector in the nation's economy. Without a strong, profitable agriculture there cannot be a strong, stable economy. Nor can there be a reasonable social policy. If we solve the food problem, then many social problems, problems of everyday life and a realization of the human will be solved.

[Artsibashev] The first steps of introducing the lease, family contract have already shown that as independence is granted to the farmers and livestock raisers, the yields begin to rise and the milk yields and weight increases are a source of joy.... At the same time, certain kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhov directors as well as the rayon leaders are against the leases....

[Mozhayev] I have been observing this for 30 years now. The family teams, or the team contract, the brigade contract and the unscheduled teams for fattening and tending livestock arose immediately after the closing down of the MTS [machine-tractor station], when the equipment was turned over to the kolkhozes. At that time, under the pressure of the kolkhoz members and the sovkhov workers, certain rayon bodies permitted leasing

on contractual principles. I was writing about this in 1960-1961. There was a stormy discussion over my essays published in the journal OKTYABR in 1961 (Nos. 1 and 9). Even then it was clear that the elements of a lease were welcomed by the kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and specialists but ran contrary to simply almost all the stages of the managerial apparatus. Since then, leasing has been repeatedly stifled by the bureaucrats. They are perfectly aware that a lease deprives the managerial personnel of the moral right to its monopoly. Many elements of the currently existing multitiered apparatus for all-encompassing apportionment would lose their reason to exist with the introduction of a lease. Instead of the state order, the limits and funds there would be a tax on land, trade and market demand. Instead of administrative orders, there would be an independent decision by the labor collectives meeting the real needs of society. There must be an economic system of self-regulation with the aid of the inspired invention of the last centuries, the market.

The lease is the first stage toward the independence of the producer, toward cooperation, toward real trade and, consequently, it is a real danger for the bureaucrats.

[Artsibashev] Do you consider the introduction of a lease within the kolkhoz and sovkhoz to be a normal phenomenon?

[Mozhayev] I in no way wish to imply that all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be broken up and a lease introduced everywhere in their place. It is a question of the co-existence of these forms of land tenure autonomously. If a kolkhoz is a large farm then let it alone to live and flourish. But we should not try to put the weak kolkhozes and sovkhozes back on their feet with the aid of the unstinting work of the lessees. A lessee or a cooperative member.... In introducing the cooperative movement, Lenin sought as the main goal the coinciding of the interests of the general cooperatives with the interests of each individual cooperative member. That is, the lessee should rely on cooperative associations. Need it be said that true cooperation excludes any combination with the phalansteries and which the current bureaucrats could seize on. They want both to introduce a lease and maintain the kolkhozes so that the losses of the latter would be covered by the grass roots lessees.

Under Lenin, land was given to the peasants who themselves joined into cooperatives and some in communes or kolkhozes but these were self-supporting. Now let the farmers decide themselves what is better for them—a kolkhoz or a cooperative with the leasing of land not from the kolkhoz but from the state.

[Artsibashev] It is important to put order in our prices.... Women's boots, for instance, now cost as much as a calf. And certainly the costs are not the same....

[Mozhayev] The question of price formation, so to speak, is an ancillary one and it is impossible to solve it in our society without solving the main question of trade. Lenin, in the 4th year of food requisitioning and military communism which had brought society and the state to the brink of the abyss realized that trade was the life ring and by seizing it it would be possible to pull out the economy and consequently the nation. But now is it possible to seize this ring which does not exist? Do we really have trade in a serious, true form? Of course not and there is not and cannot be naturally a logical price formation. We have rigid food allotment which had been repealed by Lenin in 1921 and reintroduced by Stalin in 1929-1930. A ton of wheat cost less than an empty oil barrel. That was price formation! Neither the kolkhoz nor the sovkhoz could purchase even a nail or a light bulb without the limits and allocations sent down from above! That was not trade. It was bureaucratic palmistry.

The hypothesis of modeling a noncommodity marketless method of production did not undergo a test in life, "war communism" was a mistake and a consequence of the enforced commodityless utopia. Lenin repealed food apportionment and appealed war communism, that is, the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over agriculture and partially over industry, he returned the land to the peasants, he introduced a firm currency and free market and created a society of free cooperative members.... He was also preparing to abolish the then existing apparatus as the main danger of socialism.... He was unable to do so....

And what is preventing us from moving from words to actions? Over the last 4 years, how many times have the good intentions been announced for a fundamental restructuring of the management system? Things are going nowhere still. We cannot seriously consider as restructuring the replacing of five ministries by the cumbersome and large apparatus of the APK. It is time, it is long time to move from words to action. We get nowhere with just good ideas. It has long been known that these very intentions have paved the road to hell.

As long as the gosplan, the gossnab and the numerous departments exist in their current form, central apportionment will exist. There can be no question of trade, a market or price formation. Trade and the market are attributes of the natural development of an economy and free land tenure and are not utopian phalansteries which smack of feudal estates or based on serfdom.

[Artsibashev] You once let slip about collaboration of the Dutch cooperative Sebeno with the Kashira Sovkhozes. Could you please comment on this interesting experiment?

[Mozhayev] I made some flying visits there. This is not the place to discuss this in detail. There is the pamphlet by V. Mikhayev recently published by MOSKOVSKIY

RABOCHIY. The essence of this collaboration, unfortunately, comes down not to transferring the Dutch cooperative to our land but rather to teach the cumbersome bureaucratic apparatus of the APK to work in the Dutch manner. This is about the same as teaching an elephant to course hares.

Our awkward administrative system cannot compete with a cooperative even if it is supplied with Dutch equipment and seed. Of course, there are successes and from the sovkhoz fields they have harvested potatoes in amounts of 200 quintals per hectare and even a little more. This is due to the Dutch equipment and the use of Dutch varieties. But on small fields with individual working the results are double this with 380-492 quintals of potatoes.

Here is a general description of yields: as an average for Moscow Oblast we harvest some 127 quintals of potato per hectare and silage corn is 298 quintals; in the Netherlands, respectively, 411 and 480 quintals. Moreover, one person employed in our agriculture feeds approximately 8-9 persons and in the Netherlands 112-117 persons (a world record). Then try to prove that a system of gigantic land combines of 10,000-15,000 hectares each is progressive while a small-commodity system of farms of 25-40 hectares is regressive.

The Netherlands which has a little more available land than Moscow Oblast is a great agricultural power holding second place in the exports of meat, cheese, butter and so forth after the United States. And us?

Certainly, the land of Moscow Oblast is in no way worse than the Dutch, according to the assurances of both our own and Dutch specialists. Hence, it must be a question of converting agricultural production to a leasing system which is real and non dependent upon the bureaucratic management of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz offices.

[Artsibashev] In olden times, the plowman was responsible for the land and for its health. Now many farms are indifferent to nature and to ecological problems. In one of your articles you spoke about the ill-advisability of shifting the waters of the northern rivers to the Stavropol area. Should such measures now be feared?

[Mozhayev] Unfortunately, yes. I have in mind the construction of a canal which has now been halted (alas! temporarily for further working out the plans) and over which they intend to divert Volga waters. No one has as yet shown that this diversion will not spoil and salinate the land and will not ultimately maim the Volga Basin and the Caspian. On the other hand, the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Ilich, Vasily Andreyevich Ryndin has proven over the last 25 years that in Stavropol Kray, regardless of the periodic droughts, it is possible to bring in stable high harvests annually. His kolkhoz gets over 20 quintals per hectare in the driest years and 45-50 quintals in good years. In truth, in America these would not be considered bad crops.

Ryndin's secret is simple and he introduced a lease in 1964. Almost 7,000 hectares of plowed lands have been assigned to four teams. Vasily Andreyevich himself says: "I don't bother them with my orders. They do everything themselves." And they earn 450-500 rubles a month. This is good work.

Instead of learning from Ryndin how we must work the land, we have set to digging new canals and are spending billions of rubles. Why are we spending this? Who are we saving?

Certainly it is not a question of a desert but rather the Promised Land. Even at the beginning of the century, the Stavropol peasants in terms of the standard of living were in one of the first places not only in Russia but also in Europe. And I doubt they have become more stupid since then....

Isn't it better and more intelligent to grant greater independence to the peasantry than sinking more millions into the ground and maiming the rivers and the land? Scientists talk about the inevitable salinization of irrigated land.... Their opinion must be considered.

[Artsibashev] Is a lease capable of quickly organizing agricultural production everywhere?

[Mozhayev] I am convinced that it is. Although it must be stipulated that in the central oblasts of Russia and in the North the countryside has been depopulated and there are only the elderly and disabled remaining. What sort of lessees will they make? Here we must lease the land to urban residents. You might inquire whether they would voluntarily leave the city for the countryside? My reply is that they would...but only under one condition that the lease provides an actual transfer of the land under the law to the private use of the peasant from the state and not from the kind uncles, the kolkhoz chairman or sovkhoz director. They will go if the lessee becomes the real master of the land and will be provided with credits, sold equipment and all the rest essential for farming and for life.

Otherwise we would completely lose faith in our own forces and ability to organize life on the land which has fed our fatherland for a thousand years. Reasonable agriculture can be restored only by the peasant, the master of the land and not by a day laborer. And he must be helped with the building of roads and housing and so forth. The peasantry has been formed over the centuries and to restore it is an extremely difficult undertaking requiring willpower, tenacity and patience.

And affection must be shown for the people who spend their entire lives in feeding us. In words we are considerate. But in fact? Living out their lives in these abandoned villages and hamlets are elderly persons abandoned by God and ourselves with a meager pension of 25-30 rubles.... They have worked their entire lives for society for mere "crumbs," that is for nothing and now

are dying out all alone. It even happens that there is no one to bury them. But is any of us concerned? We merely chatter on about mercy and morality....

[Artsibashev] Morality.... How is this conceived of and preached in modern society?

[Mozhayev] At present, it is a rarity to have any preaching about morality in the true sense. The problem is that morality, or a code of conduct and the attaining of the essence of relations between people, is expressed in a certain ideal created by religion, philosophy, ethics and aesthetics.

Christianity which over the millennium established certain ideals in the Russian people was rejected and subsequently in essence was prohibited by official power. The initial code of morality proposed instead of Christianity was extremely simple and accessible: what is beneficial for the revolution is moral. At times it was expressed even more simply in "plunder the plunderers."

Hence, all the most valuable that had been created in architecture and painting was declared to be stolen and even worse an opiate and abandoned not only to neglect but also destruction.

Tens of thousands of churches and more than a thousand monasteries were destroyed and plundered. They were our medieval academies and repositories of chronicle collections and priceless masterpieces of painting, architecture and fortification art. Each monastery was also a military fortress. Along the way more than 250,000 noble estates were plundered, pulled down and burned and they too represented centers of secular culture. Also plundered were museums which even prior to the revolution had been public property including: the Yusupov Palace, the Stroganov Palace, the Paley Palace and others. Even the Hermitage to a significant degree was auctioned off.

Of course, such an approach to the masterpieces of art and which were in part lost but largely made their way to foreign galleries and museums, did not strengthen, to put it mildly, morality and culture in our society. I have no wish to talk about the shameless undertakings in the 1920s between the workers responsible for the noble family heirlooms, or the extorting of gold, precious stones and so forth from the persons who prospered in the NEP [New Economic Policy] and from "former parasites." All of this has been described in our literature. I merely want to emphasize that the permissiveness had a harmful effect on the morality of our people.

Here possibly lie the main reasons and roots for the unrestrained dissipation in a certain portion of the youth and not only in the youth, and not in the most recent opuses of nonclassical modern music. The sources of immorality always lie in the socioideological strata and not in applied art. I would like to stipulate that in no way

do I disregard the pernicious influence on the youth of rock-concert depravity and vulgarity but, let me repeat, this is a temporary sin. A man matures, he learns and begins to realize what is good and what is bad.

A much more serious impact on the morality of the people comes from the lack of a well-conceived system of indoctrination, that same constant preaching: do not steal, do not murder, do not lie and which was instilled in the people over many centuries with enviable tenacity by the Church.

Certainly, it never entered the heads of our abolishers of morality rituals that there was a simple truth that the Church for the churchgoers was not merely a place of sacred psalms and access to the eternal world but also a place of human family ceremonies such as weddings and christenings. It was both an assembly area where the great deeds for the glory of the fatherland were solemnly proclaimed, a doleful place for saying farewell to the world and a funeral repast for those who fell on the battlefield.

...Where, tell me, in our new institutions can we now come together in a noble and quaking spiritual mood?

One can only welcome the correct decision by our state which during the years of restructuring has been endeavoring to see the church as an ally in the struggle for the moral improvement of society.

We certainly do have opportunities to strengthen morality. For example, in the area of education or even having focused attention on studying the noble images of the creativity of writers, artists and musicians.... But here it falls on deaf ears. Recently there was a teacher congress which could be a most important matter for improving the morality of society but who responded to it? What problems concerned us? None at all.... Even the statement by the minister of education that a student is an object for education was swallowed by us without choking.

Just look at whom we have "put in" the textbooks on literature. All sorts of literary functionaries. On the other hand, you will not find our great writers of the last 80 or 90 years. There is no Bunin, no Zamyatin, no Merezhkovskiy, no Platonov, no Bulgakov, no Akhmatova. And certainly in the works of these "unnoticed" writers there beats the living spirit of our history and the unsullied conscience of the people. Hence, let us take a look not in anger but more in perplexity and ask ourselves with pain and grief: what are we creating, brothers?

[Artsibashev] Do you feel that the questions of ecology are directly linked to one or another system of bureaucratic management?

[Mozhayev] They are linked and how! There would not have been the present disaster at Baykal if at one time the premier of the Soviet government had not banned

the printing of articles in defense of our glorious sea. The disasters caused to the land are a consequence of the anomaly of the social order.

This pattern is observed not only in our nation but also in Europe and America. Last year, I was in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. There in order to swim in the sea you have to drive 300-400 km away from Buenos Aires. And the city is on the seacoast. The water along the coast is polluted with all sorts of filth.

In Montevideo, a beach city which stretches almost 30 km along the La Plata, you can no longer swim. Just several years ago hundreds of thousands of swimmers used to come here.

Our Baltic is polluted from Leningrad to Baltiysk, the Azov, Ladoga and Baykal are poisoned and partially the Black Sea and Caspian; the Aral Sea is almost completely destroyed.... The meadows of the Volga floodplain which in the past produced a third of the feed for all the European portion of the nation (according to the data of the then Meadow Institute) have been destroyed.

Look at a map of ours—an enormous canvas and a thin winding Volga system.... It provided one-third of all the fodder and feed. There is also the Dnieper Floodplain, the Don, the Western rivers and the Northern.... What luxury! Take a look at the annual provincial reference for Ryazan Province, a desyatina (now a hectare) of Oka meadows produced up to 500 poods of first-rate hay! That is why the density of livestock in Ryazan Guberniya in 1913 was inconceivable in comparison with present times: 25 cows per hundred hectares of land and there were more horses than cows. There were more than 2 million head of sheep.... Even America did not have such a livestock density. Nevertheless, our current chatterboxes with unusual adroitness in ideas assert that at present the per capita consumption of both meat, milk and butter is 3- or 4-fold higher than the prerevolutionary times or 1927-1928. Here they overlook one essential detail: the number of head of livestock in comparison with those times at least has not increased in our nation while the population has almost doubled.

Here it was a question of one of two things: either our ancestors in those times buried the livestock in the ground and poured the butter into the roadside ditches and the milk into the rivers and lakes; or now milk rains from the skies, while strings or sausages, smoked pork or what have you grow like bark on stumps in the felled areas. This boasting becomes all the more fantastic if one considers that today's average kolkhoz or sovkhoz cow with its annual milk yield of a little more than 2,000 liters would not even have been kept before by a peasant.

In endeavoring to pawn these fantasies off on us, the smart journalists assert that the exporting of grain, butter and eggs in prerevolutionary Russia was a policy of "national betrayal." But what about the exporting of these same products in the 1920s? Just as many were

exported and the yield was not above the prerevolutionary one. Was the Soviet government in the 1920s carrying out a policy of "national betrayal"? Nothing of the sort! The arguments by the writer Chernichenko that Germany produced on a per capita basis more grain than Russia and nevertheless purchased grain from Russia are laughable.

In the first place, Germany did produce more grain than Russia but not on a per capita basis but per head of livestock as in Germany the livestock was fed fodder and in Russia hay. But Russia produced more hay (as did the USSR in the 1920s) than did Germany, England and America taken together.

Secondly, Germany did not produce the durum varieties of wheat which were sought on the world market but Russia did produce such wheat and more than any other nation of the world. Incidentally, Chernichenko himself has written about this. But he somehow strangely forgets these facts when he falsely accuses Russia of a policy of "national betrayal."

According to Chernichenko's logic, it turns out that now, having basically destroyed the floodplain meadows, we finally have implemented a truly national policy, having turned out stores into empty dance halls.

All that remains of the meadows, of the former open expanses and bounty are paltry islands or meadow strips along the Oka and each year they are threatened by the ubiquitous planners from the APK, the Ministry of Water Management as well as fun-seeking amateurs from various departments after an easy life in our reserves. And this must be! The Norilsk Metallurgical Combine managed to gain the high-place support from state leaders uninformed about ecology and before the very eyes of all the honest people endeavored to turn the Oka Reserve essentially into a pig farm.

Along the bank of the small but pure Pra River, the main water artery of Meshchera, they plowed up the reserve meadows, this protective riverine zone, and there, in this small virgin floodplain, established a pig farm with 1,000 head and laid out a town with 2,000-3,000 inhabitants. That was just the beginning! Who would guarantee that the reserve's pine groves would not fall to the saw and bulldozer at the command of the new builders of the individual paradise in the very heart of Meshchera, this priceless monument to nature, although greatly maimed but by a miracle maintaining an outline of its initial beauty and creative force. Don't those highly placed superiors who nobly abandoned the protected Meshchera to dismemberment that they thereby jeopardize life in the great city, in the capital of our ancient mother Moscow? Certainly the Meshchera forests with the still surviving albeit greatly maimed water system of rivers, lakes and swamps are the lungs of Moscow.

It is easier than easy to poison the Pra. The pig farm and town at its sources would not only poison this small river but also destroy it. The destruction of the Pra threatens a chain reaction of destroying an entire network of lakes and swamps which feed the pine stands of the Meshchera. With the loss of Meshchera, Moscow will begin to suffocate from oxygen starvation and the inhabitants will flee from it following their nose just as they are fleeing now from certain Urals cities. Let us recall August 1972 and the smoky Moscow from the burning Meshchera forests!

Certainly the Meshchera has already lived through one ecological disaster caused by the activities of the land reclamation and lumber expedition of Gen Zhilinskiy. At that time, regardless of the protests by Academicians Veselovskiy and Middendorf, the bureaucrats insisted on their plans: they destroyed the Solotcha River, they dug a deep canal, they drained the swamps, they took a great deal of lumber from the royal forest dachas and even burned 5-fold more. The villages and hamlets were burned along with the forest. The fires gained such strength that even a train was burned up underway as it was unable to escape from the flames. It required more than 70 years for the Meshchera to heal its terrible wounds.

And again people are seeking lumber in those reserve areas.... The disordered, destructive felling of the forest over the last 3 years has been replaced by unintelligent and irresponsible land reclamation. How many protests and how many warnings of future disasters! But did they stop anything?

They spent almost a hundred million rubles on the same ill-considered reclamation, they destroyed the basin of the Sovka River, they lowered the Pra and the lakes and "drained" the swamps.... All to no avail. The yield did not rise, the swamps which previously produced hay now stand empty, the pine stands are drying up and the fish died out. On the other hand, the fires have raged with their former force, destroying tens of thousands of hectares of forest and...peat. Yes, the peat has burned fiercely.... The fire raged for more than 3 months. Up to a thousand men each day were turned out, for example to extinguish the fire in the Legnevskoye Swamp.... And now, when finally the land reclamators have left, having recognized the entire absurdity of their plans, the metallurgical workers have decided to "conquer" the Meshchera. They plan to dig in more soundly as they are richer than the reclamators, their equipment is more powerful and the plans more grandiose. And they arrived here with a royal determination to establish themselves on the "savage shore." "Here a city will be established to spite the haughty neighbor!" they stated pompously on television. But the "haughty" nature is mother Moscow. Where will we be without the Meshchera, my friends? It is the start of a great disaster. The people of Vorkuta can bestow their title to the people of Norilsk. How are they any worse? And we may again have to abandon Moscow as during Napoleon's invasion....

[Artsibashev] Certainly the northerners also need their own subsidiary farms.... The oblast leadership should meet the Norilsk people halfway. Isn't that so?

[Mozhayev] The Ryazan oblispolkom provided land in the Oka Floodplain, an entire sovkhoz, for the subsidiary farm of the metallurgical workers. Let them take it and use it for their own needs. The land there is both better and more of it. But why try to move into the reserve? The Meshchera should become a national park, with reserves, with definite recreational areas and a limited zone of economic activity. And this must be done without delay, while it is still alive.

[Artsibashev] Boris Andreyevich, what thoughts and feelings do you have about the appearance of your home village?

[Mozhayev] Complicated ones.... Here there are both joys and bitterness.... It was everything. I spent my childhood here...look at those houses! Do they look like Uncle Tom's cabin? Scarcely...there are many five-wall and two-story buildings.... The lower part is brick and the top is pine wood. Those better ones were built under Stolypin and in the 1920s. The people here were skillful: they plowed the land, they made bricks, they built homes and they knew now to trade—that was also important! Also living here were former steamship captains, pilots, mechanics and fitters.... They were all of the middle strata. Here there were only bits of hired labor. But by 1929 there was not a single merchant left in Pitelino. The working peasants, brothers in class, were turned into kulaks....

[Artsibashev] Seemingly, during those times there were major disturbances in your village?

[Mozhayev] Yes, my village became famous. At least the Pitelino Uprising in February 1930 was probably the only disturbance of the peasantry commented on in the official press. It was termed a second kulak uprising.... The first one was the Antonov. Even the Antonov Uprising broke out spontaneously and it was actually led by a Kamenskiy peasant, Grigoriy Naumovich Pluzhnikov. He was never one of the kulaks. The kulaks were also not involved in the Pitelino Uprising. And how could they be involved if all of them who had been registered as "kulaks" had been exiled with their families to Siberia, Kazakhstan and the North in January 1930? The uprising broke out at the end of February as a response to complete collectivization. And it broke out spontaneously in individual villages: in Gridino, Varyayevo, Nashchi, Terentyevo, Pet-selo, Potapyevo—all of these in the wooded corner of Meshchera. Who were these kulaks? They were the Varyayevo masons, the Gridino sleighmen and plasterers, carpenters, the Nashchi coopers. They were the ones who frightened the Moscow authorities.... Particularly after a ski battalion sent from Ryazan refused to fire on the people. Complete

collectivization was bogged down in popular disturbances. Stalin retreated for an entire year. The peasants of Pitelino paid a dear price for this retreat. They hung 90 men in Veryayavo alone. That was it...now there is no one to plow the land there.

Not a single inhabitant from the rayon village of Pitelino works on the land. Everyone has found a comfortable job: some 44 offices for 9 kolkhozes and sovkhozes! They have driven away any love for the land and have broken this "terrestrial gravity." The historian B. Danilov, in attacking my novel "Muzhiki i baby" [Peasants], recently stated over television that I supposedly idealize and tell stories and that at the end of the 1920s every

middle peasant in our country was poor. Look at these two-story mansions of the middle peasants. I do not think that Doctor of Historical Sciences Danilov could now build himself such a house. And certainly he does not consider himself poor. In truth, it is laughable to see such vain attempts by people from science and even from literature to belittle the peasantry with poverty and idleness.

No, brother! The Russian peasant loved to work and worked well, but only when this work was free labor and not labor conscription. And we must think clearly on how we can again organize things in our countryside. And not for a year or two but for centuries.

Judge Says Soviet Courts Lack Independence

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[Article by V. Borodin, president of the Voskresensk city court, Moscow Oblast: "When the Judge Cries"]

[Text] A former employee of the party gorkom apparatus, I have worked in the court system for 6 years, 4 of which I have been a city people's court president. I am best placed to discuss the pressures that local party and soviet authorities put on judges. Despite the fact that the USSR Constitution and constitutions of union republics, laws covering the administration of justice and Code of Criminal Procedure and Code of Civil Procedure regulations guarantee judiciary independence of the bench, in reality there is no such independence. Let me cite only a few examples.

The court heard a suit brought against the city soviet ispolkom, asking that the latter stop impeding a housing exchange transaction, and it ruled in favor of the plaintiff. The ispolkom was not happy with the decision, and instead of carrying it out asked the plaintiff to submit yet again all the documents needed to register the transaction at the housing board. The citizen came to see me at my office and asked: "Comrade President, what is the use of the court ruling if the city soviet ispolkom does not obey it?" I had to write a letter to the president of the city soviet ispolkom stating that if the ispolkom did not carry out the court's decision within 5 days, the guilty persons would, in accordance with the law, be fined up to 200 rubles and, in the case of a second offense, up to 1,000 rubles. The storm the letter caused is difficult to imagine. The judge and I were summoned before the deputy chairman of the ispolkom, who lectured to us for about an hour. The meeting ended with the judge (a woman) in tears. The following words were addressed to me: "The leadership of the party gorkom and city soviet ispolkom is disappointed in you and will draw appropriate conclusions."

My colleagues, of course, drew appropriate conclusions of their own.

Once there was a suit dealing with a housing problem. The judge, having studied the case, came to me and asked me to assign the case to someone else. Why? The answer is simple: the ispolkom decides whether or not the judge gets a new apartment, since he was on the waiting list for housing conditions improvement; yet, the court ruling in the case would have to go against the ispolkom.

I think that these examples will suffice.

In violation of Article 4 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated April 12, 1968, "On the Due Process for Reviewing Proposals, Requests and Complaints from Citizens", the city soviet ispolkom has been monitoring citizens' letters related to the activities of the

court. In writing and over the telephone, I have repeatedly explained to apparatus employees that they have no right to control court activities, but, as the saying goes, the saga is not over yet. In conversations with apparatus employees and with private citizens, I discovered that they believe that the courts are subordinate to executive authorities. Deputy chairman of the ispolkom in charge of the police also thinks that he supervises both the courts and the procurator's office and that the president of the court is his subordinate.

I would like to mention another issue, as well. Normal working conditions must be created for the judges and the courts. Only 5 out of 47 courthouses in Moscow Oblast are built according to a specialized design, while 18 courthouses are in an extreme state of disrepair. Courthouses are short of courtrooms and sessions are held in judges' tiny offices; meeting rooms are lacking, as are facilities for resting or taking meals. Courthouses are even short of typewriters, to say nothing of complex data processing equipment. Due to low salaries, there is a great turnover among technical staff.

According to figures published by the State Committee on Statistics, the average monthly pay in the economy was 217 rubles in 1988, but the average monthly salary at the Voskresensk city court was only 147.52 rubles during the same period. On average for the country, the maximum salary of a people's court judge is equal to that of a police lieutenant, while the salary of a court president is somewhere between that of a senior lieutenant and a captain—let me stress that it is somewhere between those two. It is quite clear that in the absence of material or economic independence political independence will be lacking as well. As to judiciary independence of the judge, it is spurious. This is why procurators, lawyers, legal counsels or investigators do not become judges. In recent years, the quality of judges and the prestige of that position have fallen. Only the big empty title remains: the people's court judge.

How did it happen that in our country the position of the judge has lost its prestige? Why is it that the judge here lacks the weight, the authority and the respect he commands in other countries? This question has been raised by jurists, journalists, historians and ordinary Soviet people. I think that this is the consequence of the long period of aberration in our society and state, the authoritarian rule within the party and the arbitrary rule by some individuals at the helm of our state who wheeled and dealt to hold on to their posts and stayed in power with the help of the militia and the state security apparatus and entities that functioned outside the court system. The courts, too, were at times used to eliminate people. Yet, as essentially more democratic entities, they would not always blindly carry out the will of certain all-powerful individuals. As a result, the courts wound up in a worse position compared to other organizations in the justice system: they ran afoul of the authorities.

The courts, the procurator's office and the police of our country have been until recently tools in the hands of party and executive authorities; their only responsibility was to carry out and obey orders, not discuss them. In a majority of cases, the opinion of the party and government leadership was above the law.

It is very difficult to bring a suit against employees of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee, obkoms, raykoms and other central organizations and agencies.

All must be equal before the law, be it the state, an agency, an executive of the highest rank or a common individual.

The constitutional changes and amendments dealing with entities of the justice system, which have been recently adopted, provide true guarantees of the courts' and the judges' independence. This is one of the prerequisites for the past not to be repeated.

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Patients Complain of Conditions at Labor Detention Center for Alcoholics

18300363 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Pashkov under rubric "Biased Reporting": "Mission to the LTP"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk Oblast—"We ask you to come to LTP-2 [labor-detention center] in the city of Novaya Lyalya to illuminate in the press the conflict of patients with the administration. Pashkovskiy, Golinin, Zhdanov, Shalimov...a total of 472 signatures." The telegram arrived at the IZVESTIYA correspondence center in Sverdlovsk. And the day before, the alarmed Rayispolkom Chairman V. Borodulin called from Novaya Lyalya: "The patients are not going to work and are demanding a correspondent."

So I had covered the little more than 300 kilometers to Novaya Lyalya. The propaganda corner of the subdivision of the LTP was crowded; representatives of all work groups had gathered. There were not enough seats and the people were looking tensely through the doors. It was a nervous situation but there was no confusion: no one wanted to cause a disruption of the meeting.

"The person on duty said to me a little while ago that all of you should be picked up and taken to the fortress! says R. Ysupov with indignation. "But we ask whether the people here are patients or prisoners."

"If you work poorly and do not fulfill the norms, you go to jail. Have you ever seen anything like it?" shouts someone from the hall.

"Look how we live," interjects S. Gusev. "The club is in the dining room and the bath house is falling apart. Wherever we write, we get only nonsense...."

A lot of people gathered but only a few speak. But a rumble of approval is always present. When we went to the "palace" of the ninth work group, the rumble became intense. I honestly must say that pigpens are cleaner. The plaster is crumbling, there are leaks and bedbugs, and the radiator heaters are barely warm. It is impossible, of course, to get well under such conditions. Col V. Chekmarev, the accompanying deputy chief of the Internal Affairs Directorate of the Sverdlovsk Oblispolkom, explained that the decision had already been made to move the patients to more suitable premises. But there are many such "sore points" here. They certainly do heat up the atmosphere. The conversation in the propaganda corner, however, was about more serious matters that the senders of the telegram formulated in their "demands" contained in 11 points: "The provision of jobs as provided for in the constitution and proper remuneration of labor. The granting of vacations and compensation for them in accordance with labor legislation. Payment of medical certificates during the time of their incapacity...." These demands were quite reasonable, with nothing extreme about any of them. Except perhaps about the fence....

When we went to the meeting, V. Chekmarev said:

"There at 'Uralmash' they have a fence but it is more for appearance. It is no problem to jump over it. They are asking that it be taken down...."

The demand about the fence was at first one of the main points for the senders of the telegram. It later disappeared. This, of course, is not the essential matter. It merely symbolically designates the separation of freedom and the absence of freedom. The people at the LTP quickly understood this. In principle, the essence is whether labor-detention centers are needed at all. Or even whether they are fulfilling their purpose of treating alcoholism.

Rayispolkom Chairman V. Borodulin did not dodge the issue: the territory needs the LTP to provide manpower for the construction of housing, for social and cultural services and for the production of industrial output. They, of course, are not very skilled personnel. It is only thought that half of them have experience as workers. In fact, many of them have come down in the world, having lost their former skills. But in the land of the blind, a one-eyed person is king. For the people in Novaya Lyalya have nothing but taiga around them.

For years, the system worked this way: the LTP provided cheap manpower and the authorities helped the LTP to the extent that they could. The balance was destroyed when the press started to write about this previously hidden area of our life. People who were accustomed to having no rights suddenly began to wake up and demand

things. Discipline began to break down. But what is of most concern today is the fact that half of the patients did not go to work, thereby affecting the economic indicators and the interests of the labor collectives.

"Newspaper publications opened the eyes of the 'free manpower' to the fact that they, too, as it turns out, have rights." This is how V. Reshetnikov, key worker of the Nizhnii Tagil procurator's office, formulated the existing situation. "Their demand for payment according to their labor is quite fair, by the way. But whereas previously the administration resolved all problems by tightening the screws, today the isolation cell must be replaced by arguments. But it is so difficult to change the style of work!"

But Viktor Stepanovich is decidedly in favor of the existence of such institutions. His reasoning is this: in ending up here, a person addicted to drinking can finally sober up and give some thought to life and find his way in it. His relatives and neighbors in the house are freed from rows and fusses during this time. It is only necessary for the person to find humane conditions—full-value treatment, good work, wages, the appropriate conditions for daily life, and well-mannered guards. It is essential to influence a sick person not through an isolation cell, yelling and punishment but through medicine and words.

Reshetnikov is actually saying what is now being said openly in the society: it is time to deal with patients in the LTP as citizens with equal rights, to ease the conditions of their confinement, to differentiate the flow, that is, not to concentrate in one place people coming here for the first time and long-term residents, and to send them to compulsory treatment, observing all the laws.... Especially since these laws are being revised in the direction of humanization. IZVESTIYA raised these points last year (Nos 328 and 329). In an interview at the end of the year (No 360), L. Sizov, first deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, said right out that a lot of negative phenomena have arisen in the scope of the LTP and that for a radical resolution of the problem it is essential to restructure the entire system. The question now is what radical means.

Labor and the conditions under which the patients are kept are above all the environment in which they must be treated. It was this environment and the means of organizing it that disturbed me so much. Colonel Chekmarev noted several times that in terms of quarters and food the patients are in about the same situation as the soldiers of the internal forces that escort them. I served in the army. The barracks are certainly more roomy, better organized and cleaner, not to mention the dining rooms, clubs, propaganda corners, etc. The comparison is relative, of course. But let us suppose that this is so. Today, however, we are also saying frankly that not everything is well in army life, much needs to be

improved there, and the soldiers experience psychological problems there as well. But it is a matter of healthy people who naturally feel differently in terms of morale and perform their military duty.

It is sick people with a broken psyche who are in the LTP's. They are being treated for one of the most complex diseases—alcoholism, which can be cured only under the condition that the individual himself wants this and finds himself in an environment that will contribute to this. The LTP-2 is not in bad standing in its department and its type of organization meets standard and statutory requirements. There is a good polyclinic here that the city, by the way, built to its own detriment. But, in going through the best treatment, the patient finds himself in precisely those barracks conditions of the worst type that hardly help bring about pleasant thoughts about a future clean life.

Treatment and the conditions in which the LTP's find themselves are quite different things. They are incompatible. I asked the medical men of the LTP what percentage are cured? About 30 percent. But there is no real certainty about this, for the methods themselves for determining the effectiveness of treatment are in need of correction. Do they report on this work in journals and medical digests? Can they themselves read anything about similar problems? All the statistics are published in secret issues. And that is too bad. It is probably time to analyze all that has been collected, for scientists to exchange information, and to inform the public about the effectiveness of treatment in LTP's.

But now an unexpected question: If the LTP is really a place for treatment and not a concealed opportunity to isolate potentially dangerous members of the society and a source of cheap manpower, then what will the relaxing of the regime and humanization of their confinement resolve?

What is needed is a completely different approach to these people as well as huge sums for the construction of clubs, dining rooms, sports halls and premises where there will not be a standard 2 meters per person but as much as is needed for him to feel human. Also needed is money to improve the skills of people who have never worked anywhere before, to establish up-to-date jobs and to retrain those who will guard the patients. But then the free manpower will disappear and that same Novaya Lyalya Rayispolkom will hardly go for locating an institution of this kind in its territory. For here they will live not worse but perhaps even better than the native population. In short, the city authorities will lose their economic incentive.

Ideally, of course, it sounds great: a down and out person gains some meaning in life under the leadership of an experienced mentor in the heart of the Urals or Siberia. But we are finally ridding ourselves of false idealism, understanding that real ideals cost a lot of money. Do we have this money? And if not, is it not better to turn to

charitable societies, various funds, and ultimately the church...? Let them help! And we can use the available resources for the development of a narcological service.

One of the patients insisted that I record the following on a tape recorder:

"Are we citizens or are we not? Do we have any constitutional rights or not? Have we been convicted or not?"

I honestly admit that when I recorded that I thought: And how did you end up here, dear comrade? Were you not just living vicariously when you got drunk and raised Cain? I thought and understood how easily we sometimes forget about the rights of our neighbors, especially if there is a fence between us.

Commentary by the USSR Ministry of Health, in the words of A. Glazov, main specialist on narcology of the Directorate for Specialized Medical Assistance:

"We think that the existence of the LTP's is now justified. Alcoholism is a severe illness associated at times with a serious degradation of the personality. And often treatment is the only way to snatch the sick person from the circle of drunkards and to give peace back to the family. The therapeutic effect is the same in the LTP's as it is in the narcological service in the system of the Ministry of Health: a steady remission in the course of 1 year (I emphasize—1 year) is observed in about 30 percent of the patients going through a course of treatment. Moreover, treatment in LTP's is often more effective, for the best medical personnel are concentrated there. It is another matter that at times the treatment is hindered by the inhumane conditions under which the patients are kept. We raised this question with the police and it seems to me that we finally found a common language. It is now a matter of how the program for the humanization of the LTP's outlined by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs will be put into effect.

As for the attitude of the Main Administration for Corrective Labor Institutions of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs toward the problems arising recently in the LTP's, it was expressed by L. Sizov, the country's first deputy minister of internal affairs, in the interview (IZVESTIYA No 360) "LTP: Treatment Instead of Serving Time."

Doctor of Immunology Complains of Slow, Inadequate Response to AIDS

18300349 Moscow YUNOST in Russian
No 12, Dec 88 pp 92-94

[Article by Professor A. Shevelev, doctor of medical sciences, board member of the All-Union Scientific Society of Immunologists: "Dangerous Edge"]

[Excerpt] "If they only had asked us..."

How are we in our country viewing the experience gained by other states in the battle against AIDS?

On February 1987 a correspondent from LITERATURNAYA GAZETA posed that question to former USSR Deputy Ministry of Health and Chief USSR State Sanitation Physician G. N. Khlyabich:

"Why is it that problems concerned with the spread, treatment, and prevention of AIDS not discussed openly in our country for such a long time?"

The answer was the following:

"When information about AIDS appeared in 1981 (it came from the USA) the medical profession was naturally alarmed, although there were no data on the clinical aspects and epidemiology of this disease. We were ready to react efficiently, if only we had been asked (underscore mine, A. Sh.).

But who was supposed to ask the Ministry of Health about this?

In the summer of 1985 there was an International Student and Youth Festival in Moscow. By that time the Ministry of Health had already known that the AIDS pandemic had engulfed more than 40 countries. It was also known that coming to Moscow would be tens of thousands of representatives from countries in the pandemic zones. Nevertheless, not only the public, but even the medical personnel of Moscow were not informed in time about the characteristics of AIDS and measures required for its prevention. A few reports in the newspapers that got past the censors of the Ministry were rendered in a shortened and doctored form. The word "homosexuality" was considered unprintable.

And the first order issued by the USSR Ministry of Health about the disease's control, in order "not to frighten" physicians did not provide them with the most important features of the illness. In particular, no information was given about the exceptionally long incubation period and the practically 100 percent mortality rate.

However, what was most incomprehensible was the Ministry's attitude towards publicizing the disease: It was in fact in the summer of 1985 that the Minister issued a circular asking for its agreement to publish appropriate articles. The Ministry prohibited the printing of even survey and popular science articles about AIDS.

What is the present situation?

Before answering that question, it is important to clarify how we are handling the possible development of an epidemic in the USSR and whether or not it is possible to conclude that the first cases of morbidity is the beginning of such an epidemic.

I shall cite two quotations in that connection:

1. "The conditions for the massive spread of the disease in our country do not exist: Homosexuality, as a serious sexual perversion is punishable by law (Article 121 of the RSFSR Criminal Code). Constant efforts are being made to explain the harm caused by narcotics. We have plans to identify possible cases of AIDS (in the face of exceptionally broad-scale contacts between the country's population and foreign citizens). Intensive scientific efforts are now under way to produce diagnostic preparations." (P. N. Burgasov, Academician of the Academy of Medical Sciences, former USSR Chief Sanitation Physician.—LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, May 7, 1986).

2. "If we want to put a stop to the spread of AIDS we must now proceed as if we already have an epidemic" (V. I. Pokrovskiy, President of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Director of the USSR Ministry of Health Central Institute of Epidemiology.—IZVESTIYA, June 16, 1987).

We see that two prominent representatives of medical sciences in our country approach this problem from essentially different aspects. Which of them is right?

In order to understand this situation, one should examine the kind of theoretical prerequisites that underlie the basic views of the two authors. The crux of the matter is the following: Do we have in our country the social roots for the development of an epidemic? This question was answered more precisely by Academician of the Academy of Medical Sciences V. I. Pokrovskiy.

"We do not know how many prostitutes, drug addicts, and homosexuals we have in our country. All of those activities are criminally punishable in our country. And until recently we have had a most absurd situation worthy of the pen of Saltykov-Shchedrin, but perhaps of Dostoevsky as well. That which had been declared illegal was simultaneously declared to be non-existent. In any case, for the broad public mind and for the press. We do not know the true number of women who enter into intimate relations with men from the 'risk groups.' And, finally, what is most important of all, we do not know the number of persons living within the borders of the USSR who are infected with the AIDS virus." (IZVESTIYA, June 16, 1987).

The question about the social roots for any particular epidemic should not be misconstrued as some temporary situation.

Of course, one should keep in mind the fact that there are a number of factors in our country that limit the spread of the epidemic in comparison to the USA. In contrast to most capitalist states the USSR does not import donor blood which significantly reduces the possible contamination of our blood bank. We do not have organized communities of homosexuals with their own clubs that have been quite conducive to the massive spread of

AIDS in the basic breeding grounds of AIDS such as New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The distribution of pornographic postcards and films is forbidden in the Soviet Union. All of this naturally has placed some restrictions on the scope of the "sexual revolution" in the USSR in comparison to the USA. And even though an increasingly larger number of drug addicts is being identified in our country, that number is hundreds of times less than in the USA.

At the same time there are a number of factors in our country that could adversely affect the development of an epidemic. One of those factors is the criminal liability of homosexuality which impedes the identification and treatment of infected persons and virus carriers in this category. Not all blood donors are as yet being tested for AIDS in our country which hinders the timely identification of virus carriers among those persons as well. We are experiencing an acute shortage of disposable needles and syringes. Another unfavorable factor is also the fact that the question of sex education in the schools has yet to be resolved. Drug addiction is becoming an increasingly alarming situation. We know we have homosexuals in our country but we do not know their numbers. We have a catastrophic shortage of condoms.

For decades we have remained silent about prostitution in our country. Now we are troubled by its growth, but we don't know how many prostitutes we have. We are continuing the academic dispute as to whether prostitution is an act that is criminally punishable or whether this is problem that belongs only to the area of morality.

It is time to understand that in the era of AIDS such discussions are not only senseless, but harmful as well. Particularly in our country where the principal route of AIDS dissemination is without question infection from foreigners. In that light, any prostitute, both the "high class" types who visit Intourist hotels as well as women who give themselves to foreign students in the dormitories in exchange for clothes, becomes socially hazardous. After all, a significant number of them can not only infect other men after having had intimate relations with foreign arrivals, but what is even more dangerous is that they can become blood donors and consequently infect an unpredictable number of men, women, and children. Even if they are tested for AIDS because the conventional methods of detection cannot identify virus carriers in the first months following infection, and yet their blood is already contaminated.

The ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Measures for the Prevention of AIDS Virus Infection" was promulgated on August 25, 1987.

Paragraph 2 of the ukase reads:

"The willful endangerment of another person to AIDS infection is punishable by imprisonment for a term of up to five years. An AIDS virus infection of a person by a person who knows he has this disease is subject to imprisonment for a term of up to eight years."

But in order make their own operations effective the police need to have supplemental statutes formulated and published that would clarify the notion "prostitution" and define punitive measures for prostitutes engaged in intimate relations with foreigners.

The Ministry of Health does not believe it is necessary to report the number of persons or which categories of the population that have been tested as virus carriers in our country. Therefore we do not know which citizens in the USSR should be classified in the high risk groups.

It is absolutely essential that we have annual All-Union conferences on AIDS that would include the participation of all interested persons and organizations, including representatives of the mass media.

It should be recognized that over the last year much has been done by the new leadership of the USSR Ministry of Health in comparison to the activity of the previous leadership. Three hundred eighty AIDS diagnostic labs have been organized. Ninety-seven percent of the blood donors have been examined. Scientific research on this problem has been intensified. For example, a fundamentally new AIDS diagnostic preparation which won an international prize was developed at the USSR Ministry of Health Institute of Immunology under the supervision of Academician R. V. Petrov.

However, the situation remains most alarming. We have not yet learned the necessary lesson from the mistakes of the past. What is most dangerous is that in the process of formulating an AIDS control program, the Ministry did not deem it necessary to consult with the broad public, and particularly with the medical profession. The program has not been promulgated and physicians have not been made aware of it.

The statistics provided by the USSR to the WHO over the last one and one-half to two years are a cause of bewilderment and alarm. Judge for yourself. At the end of 1986 we recorded one case of AIDS, but three months later, at the end of March, we recorded 32 cases which was also reported at the 3rd International Congress on AIDS in June 1987. That is a bizarre statistic. It means that within a period of three months the number of AIDS patients in our country increased by 32 times whereas the period of time during which the number of AIDS cases doubled in the USA and Central Africa at the time of epidemic's most vigorous growth, was five to six months. Again, three months later, we reported in the WHO WEEKLY EPIDEMIOLOGY RECORD that the number of AIDS cases in our country had grown to 58, but at the beginning of August in the same year that figure suddenly dropped to four cases and remained at that level until the 4th International Congress on AIDS in June 1988.

How is one to explain this statistical chaos?

The explanation was quite simple: We do not know how to diagnose AIDS. In July 1987 WHO declared our data to be incorrect since we reported the number of infected persons instead of the number of persons afflicted with the disease.

What is the actual state of affairs?

Of the four AIDS cases recorded in our country three are foreign citizens and one is a citizen of the USSR. The case history of the latter case is cause for considerable thought. In March 1987 a physician at the proctology department of one of the Moscow clinics was attending a lecture on AIDS at the Central Institute of Epidemiology. After having heard the lecture she suspected that one of her patients was sick with AIDS. When she brought him to the infectious diseases clinic for an examination that diagnosis was confirmed. Moreover, it turned out that the patient was known to the clinic. He had been there four years ago, but was discharged after having been given a different diagnosis. The patient worked in Tanzania over a lengthy period and had homosexual relations there.

An epidemiological investigation established that he had 24 sexual partners in the USSR, five of whom he infected. The persons infected by him in turn infected three women through sexual contact and five persons via blood transfusions. One should keep in mind that not all the infected persons in this chain have been detected because there is no guarantee that all of their sexual contacts have been identified.

This case is instructive. Had not the physician heard the lecture on AIDS, the patient would not have been diagnosed and he would have continued to spread the infection. Such is the knowledge about AIDS among physicians in Moscow. But what is being done in the peripheral areas?

USSR Minister of Health Ye. I. Chazov declared on February 13, 1988 in an interview in MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA: "We have now recorded 32 virus carriers in our country of whom 18 persons had relations with foreigners. And among the 97,000 tested foreigners who arrived in the USSR 221 persons had positive serum reactions."

President of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences V. I. Pokrovskiy in an OGONEK magazine interview (1988, No 28, pp 12-15) criticized a statement made by an official of the USSR Ministry of Health who said "there is no talk yet about the spread of an epidemic." And just why is there no such talk? Well, yes everyone was pacified by the small statistical number: a total of only 56 virus carriers. But pay attention to this fact: Of those persons 26 persons were identified during the entire year of 1987, but in only four months of this year 30 such persons have been identified! That is to say that the number of infected persons is increasing every day and the rate of growth among infected persons is the

same as it is in the Western countries. This means that whereas if we now correspond to the number of infected persons in France in 1981, in five to six years we will reach its present level. That level is several thousand AIDS patients and several hundred thousand infected persons."

It is not impossible that the corresponding figures will turn out to be significantly more striking. By July 1988 we had identified in our country about 300 infected foreigners (almost all of whom have been deported) and 64 infected Soviet citizens. It is hardly probable that we have succeeded in identifying all of their sexual partners. Thus, the increment in the number of infected persons has been growing markedly. Over a five month period (from February to July 1988) that number doubled. In other words, the period during which the number of infected Soviet citizens doubled is equal to the period during which the number of AIDS patients doubled in the USA during the epidemic's peak.

The attitude of the USSR Ministry of Health toward the assignment of our scientists to Western countries to study the clinical aspects of AIDS and to exchange scientific information in this area, causes some surprise. Suffice to say, that out of the 6,000 scientists who attended the 3rd International Congress on AIDS there were only four representatives from the USSR, and that there were only two representatives from the Soviet Union at the 4th Congress.

Everybody knows about difficulties with hard currency. But there must be appropriate reasonable priorities. Thus, there was some indignation expressed in the press recently that hard currency was made available to only 80 fans from the USSR for the European soccer cup playoffs. But it was deemed possible to send only two persons to the International Congress on AIDS which was held in Sweden.

The hard truth is that the disputes as to whether or not there will be an AIDS epidemic in our country or not are fruitless and dangerous. The epidemic has already begun. One thing is clear: The number of cases that have been recorded in the USSR is only the tip of the iceberg whose true dimensions we are not yet able to determine.

In the meantime serenity continues to reign in our country. The medical education situation is still in the embryonic stage. Radio, television, and the cinema are practically inactive in this area. The booklet on AIDS of which 10 million copies were distributed in 1987 leaves much to be desired. Problems pertaining to the sex education of young people are ignored. We are not adhering to the London Declaration of the WHO which proclaimed 1988 as a year for the dissemination of information about AIDS. To date disposable syringes and needles are not being manufactured in sufficient quantities.

The apparatus style of resolving AIDS problems is reflected in the fact that the USSR Ministry of Health does not wish to consider the opinion of scientists, and particularly that of Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences who argue against the sale of syringes only with a prescription signed by a chief physician. This is being done to control drug addiction, but is turning out to be ineffective. In England, France, Australia, the Netherlands, and a number of other countries in the West, the lesser of two evils has been chosen—there efforts are being made to provide drug addicts with sterile syringes and needles, but we are hindering that procedure and by the same token we are enhancing the spread of the epidemic.

In the meantime, given our lack of disposable syringes, there is considerable urgency in the recommendation of V. I. Pokrovskiy that persons who frequently obtain injections keep their own set of syringes which they should take with them to the polyclinic when they go for their shots.

The problem of safe sex runs up against the immense shortage of condoms and their poor quality. In many cities they are being sold on the black market at inflated prices.

I believe that the thoughts expressed by Academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences V. N. Smirnov are quite correct:

"In my view, because of its significance the diagnosis and treatment of AIDS can no longer be viewed as an individual problem that should be the concern only of the USSR Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Medical and Biological Industry. At the very least it requires the same kind of attention and concise organization that were characteristic of efforts made in the area of nuclear weapons and space... In spite of the fact that the state program for the diagnosis of AIDS and research on drugs for the treatment of AIDS exists in a formal sense, we do not have any realistic coordination of efforts in this area because of the independent manner in which each department operates. It is essential to appoint a coordinator not from the administrative apparatus of the USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences. He must be subordinate to non-departmental governmental offices... Any projects dealing with the problem of AIDS should be directly subordinated to the coordinator. Any organization or individual scientist who has realistic suggestions should have direct access to him." (IZVESTIYA, September 3, 1987).

In other words, in our battle against AIDS we need a coordinator who is equal in breadth of personality and authority to that of Kurchatov or Korolev. And empowered with the same kind of rights.

In the summer of 1988 an interdepartmental committee on AIDS was created which included the participation of representatives from a number of ministries, the press,

radio, and television. This of course was a good thing. But is essential that the sessions of this committee be held openly and that the mass media be informed of its work.

The draft of the National Program on AIDS must be published and subjected to thorough discussion. The discussion might be based on the State Program which has been now adopted via the apparatus route as a legislative bill. Following such discussion an appropriate law should be adopted at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In that regard use might be made of the experience gained in the USA where more than 500 bills on controlling AIDS have been introduced at legislative meetings in various states. More than 35 bills have been passed. Among those are bills calling for courses on AIDS and safe sex in senior classes at schools, and requirement of an AIDS analysis certificate upon marriage registration.

It is essential to support decisively the initiative taken by the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper to create a special AIDS Foundation. I would think that the organizers of this foundations should include not only SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA but KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and the journal YUNOST inasmuch as the principal victims of AIDS are young people. Such foundations have been organized in many other countries such as the USA, France, and others. In the USA this foundation is directed by the famous actress Elizabeth Taylor. The foundation regularly receives funds obtained from concerts by famous performers, artists, and writers.

Participation in the AIDS Foundation in our country should be solicited from various public organizations, the church, and from all those wishing to participate.

It is time to mobilize the entire society in the battle against this as yet invisible but realistically growing danger! It is time to proceed from words to deeds!

The price of indifference is too high: This concerns the future of our young people and the future of our society.

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More Consumer Goods Called Key To Combatting Smuggling

18000685 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by A. Vinogradskiy: "More About Smuggled Irons"]

[Text] Contraband... The inspectors working in the customs office in Chop have to deal with it every day. Just during January of this year, for example, they investigated 257 cases...

The smuggler's profession is fairly ancient. But one must say that people involved in such a "difficult" trade never miss an opportunity to increase their "qualifications" by acquiring more and more new means of deceiving the customs officials. Belts under their clothing and suitcases with false bottoms are gradually becoming a thing of the past. More and more frequently they are being replaced by cans "rolled" at the factory and ordinary bottles which have at the bottom a small recess for hiding small valuable items. In "fashion" today is "intra-cavity concealment"—this is when the contraband cargo is hidden directly in the human body—and many other tricks.

"Yes, today's smuggler is becoming better equipped and craftier," says the chief of the operations section of the Chop custom's office M. D. Cherepanya. "And I wish to note that the illegal business attracts more than just the smugglers. Speculators, middlemen, and other similar individuals 'live off' the smugglers."

The Soviet Union is a kind of "Eldorado" for smugglers since we have a high demand for a considerable number of goods. Items with foreign labels sell especially well. Therefore for the smuggler who knows the situation in our domestic market truly immense possibilities open up. The main thing is to get past the customs...

"By following the smugglers it is possible to trace the evolution of the demand of the Soviet consumer and even, if you wish, the fashion for one kind of commodity or another," continues M. D. Cherepanya. "At the beginning of the eighties we simply got tired of 'catching' jeans. Then they were replaced by electronic watches. Today the 'watch' wave is beginning to ebb, but it has been replaced by a new one—radio and video equipment. And of course all these years there has been a steady flow of cosmetics, underwear, and other consumer goods."

I was quickly convinced of the truthfulness of these words when I was witness to how they discovered a batch of undeclared goods. This time the violators of the customs rules were Polish citizens. I shall not tire the reader with a description of the fairly lengthy inspection procedure; I shall simply get on to listing the entire "gentlemen's collection" concealed inside the suitcases and backpacks of the travelers.

And so one of the violators—P.P. (the editors know the surnames)—had with him 10 electronic watches with an overall sales value of 450 rubles, five boxes of cosmetics sets worth a total of 125 rubles, 108 tubes of lipstick worth 324 rubles, eight women's Lurex scarves worth 240 rubles, and two tape recorders of the "player" type worth 150 rubles each.

His companion, Ya. V., wanted the customs not to notice his 15 electronic watches worth 775 rubles, 84 tubes of lipstick worth 270 rubles, and nine Lurex scarves with an overall value of 270 rubles. In addition to everything else 575 pornographic charms for bracelets

were confiscated from the two of them. In Lvov these "trinkets" go for 10 rubles apiece if, of course, one manages to get them through.

At the request of the customs inspectors, both of these Polish citizens filled out new declaration forms to include all the things that had been discovered. This means that upon departure from the USSR if they cannot produce the commodity declared to customs they will have to pay the full sales price.

"What we found is small stuff. There are much larger batches," the senior inspector A. Ye. Mako told me after the inspection. "But this small stuff is enough to confirm the old formula: 'Whatever the demand is—that will determine the supply.'"

Usually such "merchants" do not go far from the border. In that same city of Lvov, for example, they turn the goods over to local "businessmen" and they, in turn, ship it throughout the Union. And the farther they travel, the higher the price. While in Lvov a cosmetics set is sold at the speculator's price of 50 rubles, in Tyumen or Surgut this same set will cost from 80 to 100 rubles.

A legitimate question arises: where are the customs inspectors looking? Why do the let items clearly intended for the black market through? The answer is simple. In this case the customs officials turn out to be the slaves of instructions which say that it is permitted to bring items for personal use into the territory of the Soviet Union. True, the limit to this is not stipulated. And the customs official, fully aware of where 108 tubes of lipstick will go, lets them go through, since the passenger, beating his breast, assures them that this is within the limits of personal use.

And in this case the customs service, without wishing to, contributes to inflating prices on the "black market" and actively helps the contraband economy. For neither one of our friends from Poland will bring back these goods! They will simply sell them at a higher price in order to pay the sales price and not end up losers themselves...

"We are fighting not the causes, but the effects," says the chief of the first passenger division of the Chop customs service, I. N. Vysotskiy. "They have brought us all these consumer goods and will continue to bring them until the domestic market is saturated with these goods. Just look and see what the customs do in industrially developed countries: they mainly confiscate narcotics, weapons, and national treasures. And we fight against rags and watches.

But the smugglers do not just bring these goods into the USSR. Much is taken out of our country as well. What Soviet-produced items are in demand abroad?

In order to get a clearer idea let us recall the confusion that was created at the Chop customs office during the night between 31 January and 1 February, that is, at the

time when the new customs rules were introduced. In the baggage of the passengers, mainly citizens of socialist countries leaving the Union, the entire spectrum of goods that are popular abroad was represented. Namely: television sets, refrigerators, the most varied selection of small electronic equipment, furniture, wood processing machines, caviar, brooms, axes, small concrete mixers, and many other things.

Do they really not have these things in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, or other socialist countries? They do, but they cost more than they do in the USSR.

Incidentally, this is also the source of the causes of contraband exportation of Soviet currency, which the "merchants" later take back to the Soviet Union to buy products.

Any Soviet customs office located on the border with a socialist country can serve as an indicator of the complexity of our economy. And the introduction of new customs rules is just another confirmation of this.

"More than a month has passed since their introduction and no results can be seen. It has just become more difficult to work," says the chief of the Chop customs office Yu. A. Shlyakhta. "People continue to bring in items on which there is a ban. And we must detain them."

The main function of customs is to protect the economic interests of the state. But is customs alone capable of providing for protection of these interests? It is important for the economy to protect itself. Now that the notorious irons, television sets, refrigerators, and so forth have become contraband they still are not widely available. One might say that the hopes placed in the introduction of new customs rules were not justified. The "I spy" game did not work.

Only industry can come to the "rescue" by arranging for mass and high-quality production of consumer goods.

Interview with Sociologist on Informal Associations

18300404 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 4

[Interview with M. Topalov, by O. Denisov: "Who Are They and Where Are They Hurrying To?"]

[Text] "Heavy metallists" and the "lyubera," "punks" and "hippies," defenders of the environment and sociopolitical initiative clubs, "rockers" and groups that engage in the restoration of monuments of antiquity. For us, they are all abnormal. And yet the makeup, goals, and tasks of these associations are very different. How does one get his orientation in this brilliant kaleidoscope? How does one evaluate the role of the new trends? Is this a threat to

people's tranquility or is it a catalyst of social development? All these questions became the topic of a discussion that our correspondent O. Denisov had with M. Topalov, scientific associate of the Institute of Sociology, USSR Academy of Sciences.

[O. Denisov] Mikhail Nikolayevich, many people continue to be bewildered—and at times indignant—about where the "informals" have come from, and what they need. Because for many years everything was very understandable and solidly established—the party, the Komsomol, official social organizations. What, then, has caused such a tempestuous growth in the informal associations?

[M. Topalov] Essentially speaking, you have already answered your own question. This is a kind of protest against the solidly established, completely regulated system. Just recall our first home-grown punks and hippies. By imitating the Western movements, they, in effect, transferred to our soil their call to society, to the system. The attraction to "harmful" rock music and to Eastern religions, and their provocative clothing—all this is intended to spite the adults. But, by closing our eyes to the essential nature of the phenomenon, only censured the weird outward appearance.

Calling the hippies parasites is an easy thing to do. It is more difficult to understand when they preached social passivity. You might recall that at that time we came up against a paradox: refraining from becoming an activist was more complicated than demonstrating one's active participation. If, by the age of 20, you were not yet a cosmonaut, that meant that you were irresponsible, you did not agree with the "line," and you were, in general, a hooligan. It is difficult to speak about promotion on the job. And that kind of pressure forced most people not to stand out from the overall crowd. They paid their dues and they raised their hands in unison and voted "aye." In an atmosphere like this, being passive seemed to some to be already a step forward. It was, as it were, active participation turned inside-out.

[O. Denisov] Do you feel that the proclamation of the course aimed at perestroika, at the democratization of society, predetermined the explosive growth of the informal movements?

[M. Topalov] Every thaw in politics is accompanied by the increased activity of the social forces. But in our country this increased activity has its own peculiarities. The informal groups began to arise at the very beginning of the 1980's, when the current positive processes were only figments of people's imagination. It is possible that young people, to a large degree intuitively, sensed the fresh wind. The informal groups became the litmus paper that reacted to the incipient pluralism.

[O. Denisov] So far we have been discussing them as though they are a single entity. But it would seem that the very term "informals" is not very precise, or one

might even say it is completely imprecise. Because we should not put side by side the "heavy metal" fans and a sociopolitical club. Have there been any attempts at a scientific classification of this phenomenon?

[M. Topalov] Actually, at the present time the informal groups do include some to which that term should not be applied. I would suggest this classification, without claiming that it will be accepted by everyone without a dispute: purely informal organizations, independent organizations, and institutionalized organizations.

Among the independent organizations one could include the "greens," the groups struggling for the preservation of historical monuments, and others. There is a rather large number of them. They carry out beneficial, specific work, and have their own program.

The institutionalized organizations are movements which already have, as compared with the independent ones, an organizational structure, membership dues, and at times paid employees: a chairman, instructors. Whereas the independent organizations are only halfway "informals," it is difficult to include the institutionalized ones in the category of informal organizations.

And now I think that it is quite simple to "compute" the pure "informals."

[O. Denisov] Would you agree that the only groups remaining are the musical and sports groups?

[M. Topalov] Chiefly so. The heavy metal fans, the breakers, the groups that are fascinated by music synthesized by electronic computers, body builders, and until recently sports fanatics. In addition, there are the rockers, the punks, the hippies...

[O. Denisov] And these are primarily young people. So does that mean that, despite all the differences in their interests, there still is something that these trends have in common?

[M. Topalov] Probably the striving for self-expression and self-assertion, for not being standard. And this manifests itself in different ways. In some it is fanatical devotion to heavy rock; in others, to their favorite musical group; in still others, the perfection of their own physique. But there is also something else: most often it seems to a young person that his opinion is the only true one, and that his word must become the decisive one. But this is not the worst property. Obviously, if it does not turn into elementary stubbornness.

[O. Denisov] But you will agree that it is not every kind of self-expression that can find understanding, much less approval, in society. It is one thing when people demonstrate by promoting pertinent initiatives, and another thing is they only listen to rock music.

[M. Topalov] There are really not too many informal groups of consumers who have turned toward the recreational sphere. They unite schoolchildren, students at technicums and PTU [vocational-technical schools], students in the lower classes at institutes, and young workers. As people mature, the purely consumer interests usually disappear. A person begins to have less free time, he becomes increasingly involved in social practice, and he creates a family.

[O. Denisov] This doesn't make it any easier for those who cannot sleep at night because of the roar of motorcycles. Once, after a concert, I happened to be in the subway when some heavy metal fans were also there. They were deafening the passengers with their orchestrated shouting. Then they began rocking the car while it was moving. Things were a bit scary. The few militia men who had been specially assigned to accompany them were powerless.

[M. Topalov] Yes, it is difficult for the militia to combat actions such as this. But this does not mean that it is necessary, in principle, to fight against the informal associations. Because even the informal consumer associations have their good sides. The only thing is that you have to know how to use them. You have to direct the unspent energy down the proper channel. Then there will be no need for the militia to interfere.

For example, the fascination that the rockers have with technology can become the determining factor in their choice of an occupation. At the present time there are more than a thousand of them in Moscow alone. Why not involve the rockers, for example, in organizing motocrosses and motorcycle rallies? Because, in front of an audience of spectators, it would certainly be more interesting for them to assert themselves. "Our Pashka has passed the profs!" In order to have this happen, the rocker will do absolutely anything...

[O. Denisov] I don't think that the rockers or the heavy metal fans would be interested in that. The fascination with independence that is so appealing to young people will disappear, and that game will not give them that taste for a challenge that gives them goose pimples. Also, who would take it upon himself to organize them, because it is difficult to get a passive consumer interested in any active cause.

[M. Topalov] Financial independence is also a very attractive factor. The initiative here can be demonstrated by adult members of cooperatives. I do not think that, as yet, the Komsomol can do this. People won't come, because they still have too strong an idea about it as being a completely formalized organization.

[O. Denisov] But, judging from your institute's research, there are quite a few Komsomol members among the "informals."

[M. Topalov] I have in mind not the rank-and-file Komsomol members, but basically those at the apparatus level. Certain attempts, without a doubt, are being made. But there is still a large amount of inertness. Take this example: a project that is legendary for the amount of time it has been under construction has been completed in Moscow—the Palace of Youth. It can and must be given to young people themselves. Incidentally, approximately the same thing was done in Hungary—the Ifjusag Palace actually was created for young people. It is open practically round the clock. There are discotheques, bars, cafes, various clubs, exhibitions, and many other things. But, most importantly, it has a very democratic atmosphere, a kind of special climate that attracts people there.

But what has happened in our country? Yet another building created for show. In my opinion, its doors are closed more often than they are open. There are concerts, exhibitions, various measures, and a strict procedure. I am not opposed to these forms, but they are few in number. We need new ones.

[O. Denisov] For the time being, smooth contacts are being established only with the "pure informals." But in a number of instances a common language has already been found for communicating with sociopolitical youth associations and defenders of the biosphere. But here too there are plenty of problems—problems of how not to over-regulate them, how not to emasculate a fresh cause.

[M. Topalov] On the one hand, for many youth associations cooperation with state organizations will only benefit the situation. For example, the following organizations are operating in the capital alone: the Perestroika scientific-discussion club; the sociopolitical initiatives club; the Civil Dignity group; the Federation of Socialist Public Clubs... The exchange of experience, the inviting of specialists, the providing of literature—it is easier to resolve these questions by having some kind of contact with the "formals."

On the other hand, there is a danger that the state organizations will suppress these associations, will make them completely or partially dependent. At the present time these groups are attempting independently to construct a model for a new society, to find new paths for developing it. I shall not attempt to assert whether those attempts will be successful. But who knows whether we might be losing something interesting if there is excessive guardianship.

[O. Denisov] The protectors of the environment are very active currently. But their methods... Rallies and demonstrations, demands to close the enterprises which, although they pollute the atmosphere, do provide work for a large number of people. Moreover, the problem cannot be resolved by holding rallies. Do you think that this movement will ever become constructive and creative?

[M. Topalov] The ecologists not only hold rallies, but in a number of instances they also propose completely acceptable programs, and offer their services. Why not, for example, organize subbotniks [donated-labor days] not to remove trash from various areas, but to build purification structures? And carry out propaganda so extensively that the entire city will respond. Of course it is more complicated to organize a job than to announce it from the rostrum, but the result is worth the efforts.

[O. Denisov] One last question. In your opinion, how will the informal associations develop? I realize that it is difficult to make any forecasts, and that much depends upon how the processes of the democratization of society will develop. Nevertheless...

[M. Topalov] Most probably, many of the current groups and associations will continue to exist. But several of them will cease to exist as informal associations. In any case there is no need to make a sharp delimitation between the "informals" and the other social organizations, or even moreso to oppose them to one another. Only cooperation based on equal rights can be the basis of the democratization of the social development of youth.

Social, Psychological Aspects of Television Viewing

18300333a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 6, 11-17 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Candidate of Psychological Sciences L. Matveyeva by staff correspondent V. Romanenko, under the "Institute of Man" rubric: "Television and Us"; date and place not given]

[Text] Our correspondent V. Romanenko spoke with Candidate of Psychological Sciences L. Matveyeva of the Moscow State University Psychology Department, who heads a group on the psychology of television and advertising:

[Matveyeva] Television (TV) has today become one of the most powerful means of communication and transmission of information. Research indicates that TV devours up to two-thirds of the people's cultural leisure time. Certain people who live alone and old people watch television all day long, and children up to five hours a day. Cases of telemania [sic] are quite common.

Right now a generation is growing up which is learning to watch before it learns to read and write. TV forms their type of thinking and their attitude toward themselves and toward the world of ideas and things. Therefore we believe that the principal task at the present stage is to study the psychology of the interaction between man and the TV.

[Romanenko] What is a consulting psychologist's role and task with respect to TV?

[Matveyeva] First of all to bring about humanization of the TV; that is, establish a spirit of dialogue in the TV-man system, and try to change the form of address to the television viewer in such a way, that he feels like an equal partner in the conversation, in the process of transmission.

Secondly, to help the TV workers get rid of their habitual cliches and stereotypes.

Thirdly, to promote the "psychologization" of the language in which TV communicates with a person. You see, it has its peculiarities. Quite often the form in which information is conveyed is ineffective. Why? Because any transmission must be constructed in conjunction with the laws of the psychology of perception and contact. Otherwise the context of the transmission is disrupted, its meaning changes, and one cannot predict the effect or the influence on the television viewer.

[Romanenko] Have you carried out research projects on an overall analysis of television programs?

[Matveyeva] Yes. One such research project was conducted among an audience composed of workers and students. The data derived are intriguing. Judge for yourself: 60 percent of the students (S) and 30 percent of the workers (W) believe that TV looks at reality through rose-colored glasses; 90 percent (S) and 80 percent (W) note that TV devotes little attention to topics of interest to them and their peers; 70 percent (S) and 75 percent (W) believe that TV rarely touches on truly critical and urgent problems; 80 percent (S) and 90 percent (W) believe that they often utilize the very same television methods and show the very same people; and 65 percent (S) and 70 percent (W) note a lack of broadcasts which describe ordinary people and their concerns.

During the research project, certain desires were also expressed with respect to TV. Here are the most typical ones:

I would like to see on-screen interviews with eye-witnesses to events—60 percent (S) and 40 percent (W);

Commentary by competent people with respect to one event or another—75 percent (S) and 75 percent (W);

On-site video reporting of events—80 percent (S) and 75 percent (R);

Discussions with specialists—80 percent (S) and 80 percent (W).

[Romanenko] Have you analyzed audience reaction to specific programs on Central Television?

[Matveyeva] Yes. The first such research we did was on order from the editors of the program "Vremya." This research proved the fact that when watching television

programs the general laws of the psychology of perception operate. For example, there were 24 topics in the program analyzed. It turned out that the average number of topics which our television viewers remembered was seven, plus or minus two. This is the so-called "Miller's magic number," which was established in a number of research projects abroad. At any one time a person's perception or attention span does not exceed seven, plus or minus two, topics or objects (people, thoughts, ideas).

Secondly, it was clear that the beginning (3-4 topics) and the end of the broadcast (4-5 topics) were remembered best of all.

Third, it was reliably established that information which produces an emotional reaction on the part of the viewer is remembered best of all. Moreover, it makes no difference whether the information is "frightening" or "pleasant."

Fourth: research showed that if a viewer has a negative attitude toward the announcer or the hero of the program, he also perceives the content of the televised report negatively.

[Romanenko] Did the editors of the program *Vremya* take your recommendations into consideration?

[Matveyeva] Yes, many of our suggestions were considered; however, they were, of course, unable to fully implement them in connection with the complexity of the process of producing such a broadcast. For example, the program was restructured in accordance with our recommendation: the topics were changed around, and vignettes or pauses were inserted, to distinguish one topic from another.

[Romanenko] On the whole, does USSR Gosteleradio display much interest in your work?

[Matveyeva] Of late, yes. Upon their order we conducted a large research project on publicizing the work of the 27th CPSU Congress. Not long ago work was completed on the perception of an announcer by the television audience. We are now developing criteria according to which the leading "live ether" [sic] will be chosen.

[Romanenko] Have you studied the television audience?

[Matveyeva] Yes, and in our research project the television audience was divided into two large groups: those with an active, and those with a passive attitude toward TV; moreover, independent of their type of occupation and socio-demographic characteristics.

The active part of the audience—active with respect to selection and use of information—required that the TV information be new, authoritative, and relevant to real life.

Interestingly, this group in turn, can be divided into people with an active-selfish attitude toward television information—28.8 percent (In their opinion, it should be narrowly-specialized, and capable of raising their own cultural and professional level); and active-altruistic—20.9 percent (This part of the audience is interested in everything taking place in the world, the fate of other people, moral problems in society, and so on).

The group with a passive attitude toward TV wanted entertainment and relaxation from it. But this group varied also. One part (19.9 percent) preferred purely entertaining programs. Another (12.9 percent) wanted the TV to be more confined to their personal problems (family, everyday life, and so on). On the whole this was the female portion of the audience.

[Romanenko] What sort of conclusions can one draw from the results of your research?

[Matveyeva] First. The structure of the contact must be changed, or, in the language of television, the production of the television-information broadcast.

Second. Television broadcasts must be structured in such a way, that the viewer feels he is respected as an individual.

Third. The language of television broadcasting should be changed with respect to knowledge of the laws of the psychology of interpersonal contact.

Fourth. With respect to its creative employees, TV should regularly work on improving their psychological competence.

Fifth. In connection with the fact that each type of television audience has its clearly-defined peculiarities, the nature of the presentation of material should be principally different, both in terms of emotional atmosphere, and rhythm; because people assimilate materials at different rates.

And last: The subject-matter of television broadcasts must have variety. We have no programs like, for example, "News" for juveniles, pensioners, single people and the like. The television audience is not just a faceless crowd. Any social group has its own individual characteristics of perception and its own style of communication; therefore, television broadcasts must be addressed with precision.

Childless Couples Complain of Tax

18300333b Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 6, 11-17 Feb 89 p 3

[Letter from O. Anokhina, N. Petrova, Volgograd Oblast: "We Think It Unfair"]

[Text] Every year our families pay 200-250 rubles in taxes for being childless. And we have no children because we do not want any, and because we have

ailments. There are quite a few such families, and during our years of treatment we have become acquainted with many of them. And we all believe that such a tax is not fair to us. Judge for yourselves: twice a year we spend a month in the hospital, and receive from 50 to 70 percent of our wages in the form of sick pay. All year long we take medicines, which the pharmacy does not dispense for nothing; trips to the sanatoria also require financial outlays; and after one's operation extra nourishment is required, which also costs money.

The social security department proposed that we accept foster children and bring them up. But we are still only 30 years old, and we desperately hope to have our own.

The tax for childlessness was introduced in our country 45 years ago, and has not been re-examined since that time. Thus, perhaps the time has come to do just that, and to make an exception for women who are ill?

[Signed] O. Anokhina, N. Petrova and 5 other signatures

Volzhskiy, Volgograd Oblast

Sociologists Examine Rural to Urban Migration
18300422 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
4 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Yu. Vorobyev, candidate of philosophical sciences, assistant professor at Kursk Agricultural Institute, under rubric "The Village Seen By the Eyes of Sociologists": "No, There Is No Eagerness to Change Places: What Has Been Preventing People From Living and Working in Their Home Village"]

[Text] What is happening in the rural areas? Why are the villages becoming empty, and why is the centuries-old peasant's way of life collapsing? Before answering these questions and making conclusions, it might be worthwhile to look deeply into the problems and to study their roots. Such attempts are being made today by sociologists.

But their research sometimes causes people to ask in bewilderment, "What is there to study here?" It is necessary to build housing and roads and to take a more attentive attitude toward people, and that's all there is to it. The oversimplified nature of this approach is already yielding its bitter fruits—the young people are traveling along the asphalt road to the city. In order to develop well-argued programs for transforming the rural areas, it is necessary to have reliable scientific information concerning people's real attitude toward their job, their occupation, production, and the rural way of life. Sociological research of this type in Kursk Oblast is discussed in the article that follows.

For a long time it seemed that it is sufficient to saturate agriculture with modern equipment, fertilizers, and seeds, and output will pour out as though out of a cornucopia. The underestimation of the social factors has led to a noticeable change in the central element of

the productive forces—man himself, and to his migration from the rural areas. Moreover, these processes have taken on such dimension that the dying out of individual villages has become a sad reality. For example, the size of the rural population of Kursk Oblast during the past 15 years dropped by 40 percent. Already there is one retiree for each able-bodied person. There has been a reduction in the number of children, so that even in the future one cannot expect any increase in the amount of manpower. And this is typical not only of our oblast.

If the tendencies toward the reduction in the amount of manpower in rural localities do not cease, then probably by the year 2000 there will simply be no one on many farms to do the work. My ideas might sound pessimistic to some, especially against the background of the tawdry television pictures of the rural areas in the Moscow suburbs or in Belorussia, but those are only "islands of progress." The overall picture of the present-day rural area today is by no means like that. Even in the remote rayons of the Central Chernozem Zone, strong villages are becoming decrepit—however bitter it is to admit this, the real owner of that land, the grain-grower, is leaving it. During the past seven years alone, the number of machinery operators in Kursk Oblast dropped by 11 percent. Instead of the permanent owner of the land, there has now appeared a temporary, hired owner. He doesn't care where he lives. Or where he works. Every year approximately 3000 workers arrive at the oblast's kolkhozes along in order to work in agricultural operations or construction projects.

It is no secret that, as far as society is concerned, the migratory processes in the rural areas have proven to be not simply a loss of working hands, but also a reduction in the interest shown to agricultural labor, and to be a distortion of the value orientations and other spiritual factors. Many people in the rural areas, as has been shown by our research, for various reasons have been working half-heartedly, or have lost their interest in the results of their labor.

Why is this happening? Many administrators have developed the firm stereotype of constantly excusing themselves by blaming the weak material base and the shortage of equipment and fertilizers. But how efficiently do they use that which the farms have at their disposal today? In order to provide an answer, it is necessary to carry out serious research and to survey public opinion. Otherwise it will be impossible to resolve those questions correctly. We must all remember the consequences of voluntaristic decisions in the development of the rural areas.

The restructuring in agriculture would be inconceivable without taking into consideration the opinions of the rural workers, and those workers today speak frankly about their problems, about the reasons why they cannot work at their full capacity, and about the factors that have been hindering the progress in rural areas. This will serve as a real basis for developing a long-term program.

We used the questionnaire method to study the opinion of 1100 agricultural workers in the basic occupations, 92 farm administrators, and more than 500 correspondence-course students who are working in agriculture.

Among the persons surveyed, only 59 percent indicated that they like their work; 19 percent answered in the negative; and 22 percent replied, "Not very much." Just think! Forty-one percent—practically half!—do not like their work. What kind of result can one expect from that?

But something that is typical is that people's dissatisfaction is determined not by various factors that cannot be changed or corrected, but that basically depend upon the administrators and the organizers of production. For example, 26 percent of the persons surveyed indicated that the reason for what might be mildly called their cool attitude toward their job was the lack of the proper organization of labor; 21 percent, the monotony of the work; 19 percent, the poor working conditions; 15 percent, the low wages; and 8 percent, the impossibility of growth, the lack of any prospects. As we can see, in all the evaluations there is a preponderance of the poor organization of labor: this is problem number one. But this is precisely something that can be resolved without any special expenditures! It does not depend upon the weather, the frost, or the drought. Paths for resolving this problem have already been developed and they make it possible to make people's individual interests compatible with the final results of their labor—various types of contract, cost accountability, and rental.

Why, then, have things been moving ahead so slowly? Almost one-third of the persons surveyed (27 percent), who included administrators and organizers of production, replied that they do not have enough knowledge. It would seem that, in an age of universal education, this is difficult to assume. However, the research showed that it has indeed been the shortage of knowledge that has been hindering the introduction of new technological schemes and the organization of labor, and of many technical innovations.

People study everything, but this is the way the situation stands in the reports. But what about in reality? Even in the most widespread form such as political education, which is monitored by the party agencies, 22 percent of the persons surveyed stated outright: we are not attending any classes, and 26 percent declined from giving an answer. Could it be that people do not want to study, or is it that they are satisfied with their level of training? No, only seven percent of the persons surveyed admitted that they do not have any special desire to study, inasmuch as they feel that they can earn good wages even without studying. But what about the others? The basic reasons that they give for wanting to continue their education are: the striving to raise their proficiency level, in order to work better (27 percent); to expand their horizon (15 percent); to make life spiritually richer and more interesting; and also their desire to change their specialty and their job; and only 8 percent, in order to

consolidate their material position. But whereas the desire to raise their level of proficiency was stated by every second person, only one-fourth of the persons surveyed had ever attended special courses to raise their proficiency level. And so, in our headlong age of the scientific-technical revolution, when technology is renewed every five to seven years, two-thirds of the workers simply cannot keep in step with the times. Therefore, in response to the question "Do you engage in any efficiency-improvement or invention activities?", only 11 percent answered in the affirmative.

The question arises: are we really to believe that there are no creative minds among the agricultural workers? Certainly not. More than 30 percent of the persons surveyed are people with secondary technical or higher education. If the necessary conditions were created for them, they could head the creative search. There certainly have always been a large number of smart people in the villages. But the problem now rests upon the organization of labor, or, more frequently, simply upon the need to change a few things in that organization.

But how do the workers themselves evaluate their personal contribution to the farm's job? Judging from their answers, 57 percent of the people surveyed have been working at their full capacity. Sixteen percent of the persons surveyed stated outright that they are working half-heartedly—they do not have any self-interestedness; 17 percent answered that they could work better, but they are prevented from doing so by the working conditions; and 4 percent felt that they are working poorly because no one values good work. And only one percent of the persons surveyed stated that they had never learned how to work well and did not know how to work well. Consequently, more than a third of the persons working, according to their own evaluation, are working worse than they could.

I would especially like to call attention to the fact that among the many objective reasons for low labor productivity, poor proficiency, and lack of material self-interestedness, the ones that move into the forefront are the purely subjective ones: the interrelationship between the person and the administrator. Yes, it is upon him, upon the administrator, upon his ability and his desire to construct relations with people on a healthy basis, that so very much depends.

Half the persons surveyed feel that their administrators are good organizers and educators of people, but 36 percent are of the opposite opinion. Moreover, in evaluating the qualities of the administrator—what his subordinates would like to see him as—the majority's opinion is completely unambiguous: they want to have a strict, demanding, but caring administrator.

The interrelationships between the administrator and the subordinate, naturally, exert an influence upon the final results of labor, on the person's desire or lack of desire to work well, to the best of his ability. Here too we

encountered a problem that deserves serious thought. Only 45 percent of the persons surveyed feel that their personal labor is evaluated according to its merits; 35 percent, not always; 10 percent, unfairly; and 10 percent refrained from answering. All this necessarily leads to the idea of the considerable influence exerted upon production matters by the propriety and respectability of the relations between administrator and subordinate. Fifty-nine percent of the persons feel that the administrator has a good attitude toward them; 13 percent, that he has a basically indifferent attitude; 20 percent feel that he is unfair to them; and 8 percent feel that the administrator has a bad attitude toward them.

Another factor that exerts an influence on the migratory processes is the following: a third of the persons surveyed are not satisfied with the relations within the collective. Consequently, in order to improve the situation it is necessary only to change the relations among people. However, in practice, it is precisely this problem that is difficult to resolve, since it is necessary to break people's well-established habits, but also to break their psychology. In rural areas, people probably perceive in a more heightened manner any deviation from the norms of morality or the purely human relations. The specifics of rural life are such that, over the period of centuries, people have developed a sense of mutual aid (the rural commune, the collective running of the farm), and every instance, even the slightest, of introducing bureaucratic methods into the relations between the administrator and subordinates is perceived in an extremely painful way. And all of this has an effect not only upon production, but also upon the choice that people make for their lives: whether they remain in the rural areas, or leave.

Other factors that play their role in this choice are the social ones—everyday life, the working and living conditions. The conditions that exist at the present time completely satisfy only 40 percent of the persons surveyed; almost the same number of people are not very pleased with them; and 8 percent mentioned their desire to leave the farm. More than half the persons surveyed feel that housing construction in rural areas is unsatisfactory. Probably a few years ago a greater percent would have felt this way. In recent years many farm administrators have begun to use various methods to stimulate construction in the rural areas. But it has turned out that in a number of places there is no one to move into the

new homes, because the peasant has moved to the city not only in the search for strictly regulated work with two days off. He has been attracted by housing with all the amenities and by cultured recreational opportunities. The bother of village life against the background of rural prosperity seemed to be senseless and without a purpose. It is necessary to resolve the problem of housing construction in the rural areas, but it must be resolved intelligently. We have already had enough five-story buildings and "city type" settlements that have been built for show. A person begins to feel that he is in charge when he has his own home, rather than a hovel or a concrete cell.

A factor that, to a large degree, promoted the noticeable extinguishing of people's enthusiastic participation was the use of bureaucratic methods of administering by fiat, which methods erased any feelings of being in charge, and converted the person into a passive executor. Moreover, this pertained not only to ordinary workers, but also to many farm administrators.

The expansion of democracy is a vitally important problem of modern agricultural production. However good the laws that we apply are, they will not be effective if we continue to have the form of administration that has developed, when the raykom buro or the secretary commands the kolkhoz or the sovkhoz.

On the whole, people approve of perestroika; only 5 percent of the persons surveyed expressed a negative opinion. However, there are also many persons who are doubtful—more than 60 percent of the persons surveyed. The rural workers have made equally timid attempts to promote this process by their personal labor. In response to the question "Would you personally want to rent land or an animal farm?" only 10 percent of the persons surveyed answered in the affirmative; and 25 percent gave a categorical "no." The majority - 63 percent—gave their consent, contingent upon a number of provisos, the chief one being that, for the time being, they do not sense any social guarantees for the durability of the new situation.

When carrying out our research we did not set as our goal the providing of any ready-made recipes for changing life in the rural areas. But many answers given by the persons surveyed suggest not only problems, but also ways to resolve them.

Poll of Leningrad Citizens Shows Disillusionment with Perestroika

18000604a Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 7 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Pompeyev: "The Party of Hope: A Commentator's Reflections"]

[Text] In the historically minuscule period of perestroika there has come a new, responsible moment, the brief essence of which is the final transition everywhere from words to deed. A broad study that public-opinion sociologists have carried out among Leningrad citizens, Communists and non-party members (approximately 10,000 persons, including approximately 3000 party activists, were surveyed) has caused a paradoxical situation.

For the majority of those who filled out the questionnaire (more than 90 percent), the present-day stage of social changes evokes—in addition to feelings of hope and optimism—unease and fears. The doubts about the irreversibility of the steps taken by the party to democratize our life are explained, unconditionally, by the official stifling of the Khrushchev "thaw" and the Kosygin economic reforms, which stifling occurred within the memory of an entire generation of people still living. It is completely explainable that we have not eliminated our own political passivity, our fears, and our social inertness.

A concealed, and at times even open, resistance to perestroika has become obvious. Suffice it to recall if only the summer item involving the subscription, which has remained outside the confines of public evaluation. The nationalistic neuroses appear to be especially alarming, and in history they have always denoted a rolling back, the triumph of the conservatives and, in the final analysis, the counterrevolutionary forces.

The survey also noted a confusion in our social awareness. The vast majority of the Leningraders acknowledged that they simply did not know what has to be done for perestroika. Alas, we continue to wait for instructions and explanations from above. True, the time has also revealed more acute problems: the price reform; the introduction of cost accountability at enterprises; the cooperative movement; the increased rate of participation by the youth; and, finally, the awareness of a search for new markers for moral orientation, and the changes of stereotypical convictions. The last-named problem is the most complicated and more painful one.

It is easier and simpler to wait for changes from above. After beginning the perestroika with a clean slate in April 1985, the party has achieved social changes that sometimes seem to be fantastic. Not only the magazines and newspapers have changed, but we ourselves have also changed, as well as the meetings that used to bore us at one time. Nevertheless, almost half our Leningraders, as is attested to by the survey, are disappointed with

today's results of perestroika. We want just as impressive a revolution in the consumption not only of spiritual blessings, but also of material ones. And also on orders from above. The meaning of our demands is brief: the party is obliged to give the nation a standard of living that can compete with other countries or even surpass them, since we are fabulously rich.

From certain rostrums we have heard the explanation: we live the way we work. The counterlogic also is natural: but we work the way we live. Is this a vicious cycle, as it was during the years of War Communism? I don't think so.

I do not want to discuss at this time the topic of how we have been working. I shall postpone that for another time: the topic is too painful. Our sloppiness, our irresponsibility, our incompetency are monstrous, from bottom to top. This is simultaneously the result and the nutritive medium for the system of administering by fiat, a system that has not yet been overthrown but that has only been slightly shaken. People have begun talking about the training of managers. Why, for so many years, have people who for the most part are lacking in initiative been pushed into that nomenklatura grid? So that it would be easier and more convenient to command them? But now we complain that the enterprises are groaning as they change over to self-government.

I shall also not discuss the fact that we have no objection to receiving material blessings while we continue to work half-heartedly. The situation here is completely obvious. To use Gertsen's words, we do not have a prayer, but we do have labor: labor is our prayer. We might also recall in this regard the unforgettable Ilf and Petrov: "We all love the Soviet authority. But love of the Soviet authority is not a profession. You have to keep working."

Incidentally, the just as necessary criticism of the Soviet authority also is not a profession. There is something else that troubles me: what do the irreversibility and the fate of perestroika depend upon? There is a divergent opinion that everything will be determined by the situation in agriculture. Well, this seems reasonable enough: during the past three years, the citizens of Leningrad have had an undershipment of approximately 500,000 tons of their own potatoes and approximately 300,000 tons of their own vegetables. The result is depressing if one thinks seriously about the region's self-support in the future.

It is my firm conviction that the fate of perestroika is determined by one's position in the party. It is precisely with the party, with its vanguard role, that Communists and non-party members link their hopes for the future.

Here too, in my opinion, during the years of frank discussions and claims that have elapsed, one has heard several alarming notes. First, the intraparty situation. Even in Leningrad and the oblast, among the workers every tenth person is in the party (for the country as a

whole, apparently, every fifteenth person), and among the employees, every fifth person. Although the influx of workers into the party never had any limitations. Among the party organizations in the city and the oblast, two-thirds are employees and unemployed retirees. We might recall that approximately one-half the Communists entered the party in 1968-1982, when the selection criteria were different. These people constitute tens of thousands of workers in the apparatuses of trade unions, ispolkoms, Komsomol committees, and economic institutions. But at the same time there is an astonishingly small (just a fraction of a percent) segment of Communists among the persons employed in trade, public nutrition, housing and municipal services, and personal services. And it is precisely those spheres that we come into conflict with every day. It is precisely here that our dignity is offended, our patience is exhausted, and we begin to become skeptical about perestroika and disappointed with it.

Something else that concerns people is the striving to preserve ideological comfort in the party, under conditions of the obvious opposition between the revolutionary principle and the conservative one. One can already count several moments when that comfort, including social privileges, could have been shaken. Let me mention them. February 1986, the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress. PRAVDA prints a tremendous survey of letters under the title "Purification." An article that could evoke a healthy discussion about political culture and moral purifications (do we Communists assume the load of responsibility for the past and the future, or do we limit ourselves to just one load—keeping the party membership card in our pocket?) does not receive any support. Then the October 1987 Central Committee Plenum, and B. N. Yeltsin's statement and "ultimatum." That would really have been a good place to open up an extended discussion about the methods of party work and the management of the perestroika! Everyone knows the result: the unanimous—with incomprehensible repentance at the end—censuring of the first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee who had worked in that assignment for a year and a half.

Something that sounded like an unconcealed attempt to restore the slightly shaken underpinnings of ideological comfort was N. Andreyeva's shout "I cannot waive my principles," although the principles of Stalinism that she defends cannot bring anything but havoc to the party or to society. The status quo was restored by PRAVDA's 5 April 1988 editorial. Andreyeva's supporters became silent, but they did not disappear.

The chief problem that we have today and will have tomorrow is the implementation of the Leninist concept of socialism, so that the Bolshevik core that is retained in the party can predetermine our further fate, and can set up a roadblock against new reprisals and the betrayal of the ideas of October.

We might recall that, other than the intellectuals, the group that suffered most from the big terror was the Communist Party itself. By the end of the 1930's no less than 1.5 million party members had been put to death. In addition to human lives, there was a snuffing out of the morality and ethics of Bolshevism, and the best qualities of the human species: self-sacrifice, selflessness, bravery, and disdain of anything false. The Stalin regime imbued social and personal relations with an informer mentality, careerism, and hypocrisy. The counterrevolutionary violence against the workers cruelly compromised the ideas of socialism and the world workers' movement as a whole.

One can, of course, curse the past or bemoan it, but one must understand it. And this includes the quite recent past, in which the newspapers subordinated themselves to the telephone ring, the nation had the right to be thankful, and Leninism, turned inside out, was becoming the theory of stagnation, rather than movement ahead. This was political paralysis, from which it is necessary to be completely cured. Cult psychology and philosophy that have eaten their way into the flesh and blood pull people back and cloud people's reason. The awareness of this is the internal drama of several generations. We will never eliminate that drama so long as glasnost, democracy, and self-government are perceived on command from the top, rather than as the internal need of millions of people, a need that coincides with the assertion of the individual's own dignity, with the liberation from social humiliation, with the complete opportunity of implementing one's human purpose on earth.

Leninist ideas and principles remain unprofaned if we remain aware of them and if we restore them in full correspondence to the scope of the state genius Vladimir Ilich. Those life-giving ideas always put up a fierce resistance to bureaucratic coercion. What is the worth of the letters during the years of stagnation which were addressed, according to PRAVDA, to "Moscow, Mausoleum, Lenin"! Stalin, those who surrounded him, and the tremendous apparatus arose not on the path of the organic development of Bolshevism, but on the crooked road of its bloody denial. Bolshevism strove for a state without bureaucracy, without coercion over the economy or over people.

A road without a guide, a road that is linked with the evaluation of previous mistakes and crimes, requires that we possess not only circumspection, but also boldness on the path facing us. This pertains especially to the party that Stalin, in the struggle for monolithic solidity, brought to a state of shameful submissiveness. Man, as the goal of revolutionary reforms, became a means for them, or simply a tiny cog.

In the triad consisting of glasnost, democracy, and socialism, socialism requires special defense by the people. In a number of republics, it is replaced by the concept of "sovereignty," and certain historians and commentators are discussing "alternative" versions. I

was struck by the sly admission made by American columnist S. Shabad in issue No. 50 of OGONEK: "Certain people assume that if Gorbachev wins, then capitalism will triumph in the USSR and the Soviet Union will become just as powerful an economic rival of the United States as Japan is." That, it turns out, is the path by which we can achieve economic might. This snide remark was met by the complete silence of the Soviet participants at the roundtable discussion, the most eminent figures of the Moscow rostrum. One cannot understand this silence as a sign of assent, but it is difficult to judge their position, since the complete text of the discussion will be printed only in the American magazine SOVIET ECONOMY.

If one plays the entire historical tape, then it is not in order to return to capitalism, but definitely to the Leninist understanding of our social system as the living creativity of the masses in the name of the people's happiness. True, on this path there are not only glasnost, democracy, the electoral system, the convertible chervonets, the cooperative system, and rent, but also the Izhevsk-Votkinsk uprising, the wild outburst of the Antonov era in Tambov Guberniya, the Kronstadt mutiny, the fierce ideological struggle when working out nontrivial decisions...

Yes, this path is a thorny one, and it is linked primarily with the improvement of intraparty democracy. At many meetings nowadays, one is struck by the opposition between the "people on the bottom" and the "people on the top." Sometimes one gets the impression that these are representatives of different parties, rather than of the single CPSU. Let's think a bit about this: if there is no trust in the leader, then it is necessary to elect a new one by the constitutional procedure, and by that means only. Suspicion directed at initiatives from below evokes the same censure. If we do not trust one another, then no one will trust us. In order for living thoughts to prevail in our daily life, why not take advantage of Lenin's practice of holding discussions, of arranging to have at party conferences and meetings not only reports, but joint reports? Why not make it a standard practice in television to have a live weekly meeting between journalists and the city and oblast administrators? And I mean specifically a weekly meeting, to deal with the most critical problems.

It is necessary to increase the size of DIALOG magazine and to print in it "News of the CPSU Leningrad Gorkom and Leningrad Obkom" with the purpose of giving broad publicity to party activities. The political participation of the Leningraders, and the vital necessity of discussion many problems pertaining to the work of the soviets and other social organizations, including problems of the local budget, school and housing programs, etc., require, in my opinion, the redeployment of the organs of the press—for example, the publishing in Leningrad of rayon newspapers on the base of the existing house organs.

History will not forgive us if each of us Communists fails to take onto his shoulders the weight of the responsibility for reconsidering and renewing the principles of our activities, without fearing the undermining of our foundations or the loss of our former—frequently inflated—authorities. The perestroyka energy, at the crest of which we learned how to talk, how to hold rallies, and how to pass resolutions, must now be directed at learning how to work and live efficiently, so that we will be able, without any shame, to look into one another's eyes and into the eyes of our neighbors on this planet.

Leningrad Statistics on Poverty Income Levels 'Hidden'

18000604b Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 6 Jan 89 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Manilova, under rubric "Social Bookkeeping": "The Crooked Mirror of Real Income and the Family's Subsistence Level"]

[Text] Excerpt from a letter from reader I. Serova: "We are a family of four—I have two daughters and a granddaughter. But I am the only one working. Five years ago calamity struck us: my older daughter was involved in a car accident and since then she has had a Group I disability. She gets 50 rubles as a pension and 20 rubles for child support. My younger daughter is still in school. We have a disastrous shortage of money!..."

Excerpt from an article by Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Rimashevskaya (EKO magazine, No. 7, 1988): "The assertion concerning the existence of an independent problem of low-paid workers and poorly provided families proved to be unfounded..."

Excerpt from a letter: "...For lunch we cook only the first course, and cook a second course for supper. Fortunately, my granddaughter still goes to nursery school, because she gets three meals a day there. But she's already six years old, and soon she'll be going to school... I am terrified when I think about that. I myself am from a children's home and there is nowhere I can hope to get help from."

Do Statistics Know Everything?

Among the topics that have been hidden in the recent past, there are champions in concealment. That has also been the situation with our poorly provided (low-paid, needy) fellow citizens, whom the forthcoming price reform has forced to make their presence known at the top of their voice. You should seem what a flood of letters the newspapers have been receiving! But, properly speaking, does this mean that it is only now that we have learned about this problem? What kind of fundamental information do we have at our disposal in order to undertake to resolve it thoroughly? That is just a rhetorical question. To this day, official statistics do not

provide anything like complete data on this score. How many people are living below the subsistence level? But, most important, where is that level? What is our subsistence level?...

Well, okay, maybe we don't know the figures on the countrywide scale. But on the scale of our own city, oblast, or each of the rayons, we are obliged to know if we are going to discuss the creation of effective, **scientifically substantiated** territorial social programs! "It is high time to publicize that information," the readers justly assume, failing to consider only one thing: it is impossible to publicize what does not exist.

I will admit that I too was convinced of this not all at once. It was only having gone through all five floors of the Administration of Statistics, after receiving access to all the materials that I was interested in (for which I am indebted to the unconditional support provided by Nikolay Grigoryevich Besspalov, the administration chief), that I was convinced that I would not find any initial data there.

I look, for example, at the results of the last special study ((March 1986). And I see that 305,700 persons (12.3 percent of everyone working in Leningrad and the oblast) received wages of 100 rubles or less; 14,400 of them did not even get 70 rubles; 89,600 did not get 80...

This is a wage that determines four-fifths of the income. But what are the expenses? What conclusions concerning the real standard of living for these people can one make if the social groups and the families to which they belong remain a secret? How many of these people are those for whom their hard-earned 70, 80, or 90 rubles are their sole source of income? And how many "minors" are comfortably covered by their parents' roof, and therefore they can easily spend their wages for blue jeans, disks, and cosmetics?

Here is another piece of information. I read: the share of low-paid workers in the total number of persons employed in branches of the national economy (for Leningrad and the oblast) in March 1986 constituted 4.8 percent in transportation and... 37.9 percent in cultural institutions. But in industry it was 5.1 percent; in science, 5.7 percent; public health, 21.8 percent; in public education agencies, 27 percent...

Without a doubt, this is important information. But it does not move us toward our goal. Not by half a step. Because when our **real** budget, our **real** income, is formed, we cease being abstract "workers in branches of the national economy," and become the population. We become that complicated commonality that consists of families with completely different social and demographic status, and, as a consequence, a completely different quality of life.

"You must realize that we do not collect data arbitrarily," A. Borodin, the deputy chief of the statistics administration, explained patiently to me. "We fill in the information on strict statistical forms that have been approved by Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics]. There are hundreds of them. But, no, as yet there have been no forms developed that are intended to study the indigent. But that is impossible," Anatoliy Aleksandrovich completely astonished me by saying, "because the very concept 'subsistence level' has not been translated into the language of precise figures. It does not exist in statistics."

What? A phenomenon that exists in life is not expressed in the mirror of this very life—in statistics. Well, then, let's try by ourselves to analyze what makes up in general this concept of the subsistence level.

For the time being, there is a rather large amount of confusion in people's minds about this. And even more than "a rather large amount"! The officially established minimum amount of an old-age pension is 50 rubles. The officially established minimum for a family's per-capita income, below which the system of government benefits goes into effect, is the same 50 rubles. But the specialists deal with completely different figures. Leaf through the literature and you will see: some of them state 65-70 rubles; others, as much as 80; still others, as much as 100... So, what is this subsistence level? The minimum level for **normal** consumption, or the "poverty line"? That is a very fundamental question.

Furthermore, what is its size for Leningrad? Is it identical, say, for men of average age, for young women, for infants, for adolescents, for retirees? For people living in the city and those living in the country? Well, these questions are not of interest to the statistics agencies. Or for science. Or for the Administration for Labor and Social Problems. Or for Oblsovsprof [Oblast Council of Trade Unions].

It is only when the subsistence level that has been computed is not a mythical one, not a "mean statistical" one, but one that applies to you and me, that the concept of "social statistics" will move from the category of myths to the category of realities.

Below the Poverty Line

Excerpt from a letter written by electrician B. Smirnov: "We used to have one child. Then we had twins—a boy and a girl. In the midst of a sea of congratulations, everyone said that we were so lucky. But now we had a problem: my wife gets 35 rubles for herself and the children, and I get 170. That's a total of 200 for five people. I work honestly and I like my work, but we cannot live on this money. It turns out that the government gives people like us the right to wriggle our way out of this ourselves. Is that really justice?"

Excerpt from a letter written by design engineer L. Kolmykova: "I absolutely need a warm overcoat—I have bronchial asthma. But the prices! Before we used to be able to buy an overcoat for 250 rubles, but now you cannot find one for less than 400-500. But our wages are only 150 rubles. After the income tax, insurance, and professional dues are deducted, that leaves 120 rubles. I'm 50 years old and have been working more than 31 years, and I can't buy an overcoat. What social group do I belong to? What would you call me?"

Excerpt from a letter written by L. Mamonova: "I am a mathematics teacher, and my husband is a militiaman. Soon our twins will be a year old. Everyone would be fine, except that our children are seriously ill. So it looks like I won't be able to work for a few years. But my husband's wages are 175 rubles. The monthly expenses for the apartment are 20-25 rubles. For milk, the same amount. Bread for two (so far, everything is for two), 10-15 rubles. We can allow ourselves to eat meat only during the first week after we get paid. But we also need fruit, vegetables, juices... It is immoral to save money at the expense of children, and triply so at the expense of sick children."

Would you please tell me whether it does not seem somewhat strange to you that the persons who wrote these bitter letters are by no means exceptional? They are not social dependents. They are not "orphans and beggars." Nor are they recipients of old-age pensions, or parents with a large number of children, or single mothers... It is a paradox: it is as though people who have work that they love and who have a strong family are in acute need of social protection!

Well, then, properly speaking, where does one begin the social protection of the **working man or woman**, because that is specifically the person we are discussing. Obviously, with the opportunity not only in cooperatives and artels, but also in state enterprises, to receive, in exchange for honest labor, wages that will assure that **under any circumstances**—whether someone in the family is sick, or whether they have twins or triplets—that family will not find themselves among the indigents. In other words, we must speak anew either about balancing the increase in wages and in labor productivity, or about inflation. In this regard, quite a bit has already been said. But let us deal with specific Leningrad examples.

All right, then. During the first nine months of 1988, the monthly wages in industry in Leningrad and the oblast rose by 8 percent. A random study showed that they increased by 8.1 percent at the Elektrosila Association; 9.5 at Lenles Association; 10.6 at Krasnyy Vyborzhets Association; 11.2 at Elektrik Association; 14 at the Era Association for Production of Household Chemicals; 14.1 percent at the Syasskiy Woodpulp and Paper Combine... As a result, the average wages at a number of enterprises are already as much as 250-260 rubles.

But, unfortunately, the explosion in the payment of labor has by no means been accompanied by an explosion in labor productivity. Incidentally, a discussion at the School of Economics, LGU [Leningrad State University], with Doctor of Economic Sciences Viktor Timofeyevich Ryazanov convinced me that the "gross-production mentality" has not yet been eliminated in the economy, and that, for the time being, the real picture concerning labor productivity is "smudged," that the mechanical comparison of the increase in productivity and wages is not correct.

That is first of all. Secondly, there is also a reason that prevents the engineer and the worker at Elektrik or the Syasskiy Combine from being overjoyed at seeing their wallets so nicely fattened. The prices!

You might recall that teacher L. Kolmykova concludes that the prices of an overcoat have doubled. L. Kolmykova is followed by thousands of consumers who agree with her and who are possibly remote from political economy, they they can believe their own eyes. But the thing that probably makes people more indignant than the rise in prices itself is the uncontrollable, practically underground nature of that process. So let us take a look from that steeply at the problem of problems—the retail price index.

Note: According to data provided by RSFSR Goskomstat, the retail price indexes in 1987, as compared with 1986, were as follows. Cotton fabrics, 99.1 percent; clothing and underwear, 97.6 percent; metal dishes, 99.0; perfumes and cosmetics, 100.1; haberdashery, 99.8; leather footwear, 95.8 percent... That means, my dear readers, that the prices of everything other than face creams, powders, and perfumes not only did not rise, but they actually fell! The prices that were reduced especially successfully were those of jumpers and boots. Do you believe Goskomstat?

The same Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Ryazanov told me that, according to official information, during the period from 1970 through 1985, the price of a "consumer basket" (a group of the necessities of life) rose by only 8 percent. But when "independent" economists computed the price, the figure they got was 43 percent.

The answer to this riddle is that in the first instance the prices that were taken into consideration were the ones on the price lists, but in the second instance they were the real ones. Because on the price list you can find sausage at 1.20 rubles and a man's suit at 80 rubles. But do we ever see them? Where are the people who have bought them? If anyone ever decided to pull a trick like that in a children's game, there would definitely be a brawl. In any event, people would refuse to play with that person again. But apparently even adults sometimes have no objection to borrowing children's rules.

So, how much, then, should L. Kolmykova earn in order to rise above the poverty line, in order to be able to buy herself a winter overcoat without depriving herself of the vital necessities? As we can see, the task remains unresolved. But one thing is clear: so long as the mechanisms that cause the cost of living to rise are concealed from our eyes, our real income (rather than our nominal income) will also be concealed from us.

Model of Hope

A young married couple I know used to live comfortably. Their budget was more than 400 rubles. But then they had a weak little premature baby. Then the wife got sick. Other than the husband, there was no one to take care both of her and their son. So he left the institute where his career had been developing brilliantly, and found a job with a schedule that he could manage. Now they have 120 rubles for the three of them.

When I tell this story to my acquaintances, they become truly indignant, and ask, "Isn't society really capable of helping this family?" But you will forgive me for saying that life gives rise to thousands of stories like this. And if one becomes indignant, it is at the fact that we have not yet found (but we have not really looked for!) ways to achieve the comprehensive resolution of the problem of living at or below the poverty level. We have not comprehended the role of the very institution of social security. Because helping one family in need, or two, or even 20, is still a drop in the bucket.

Well, then, does that mean that we are absolutely unready to perceive this problem? I don't think so.

Because there is one thing that we should notice. However difficult the material status of many disabled persons or pension recipients, that generation is still monitored by society. Every rayon social security office has lists of "their own" people who are living near the poverty level. The disabled war veterans are listed separately. So are the single individuals. So are those whose pensions or benefits do not exceed 50 rubles. Or 40 rubles. Or 30. Soon the city's Social Security Administration will have a person on duty to take telephone calls: just tell us who needs help! In a half-year period alone, an additional 4,286 senior citizens in critical need of society's concern were located.

But an unannounced citywide inspection that was held in 1987 by the Leningrad Council of War and Labor Veterans and the city's Social Security Administration provided a clear picture of the standard of living of single pension recipients and disabled individuals as an **integrated social group**. It was precisely that factual material that enabled the Leningrad City Ispolkom to adopt the special decision, entitled "Steps for Further Improving the Services Provided to Senior Citizens and Disabled Individuals in Leningrad."

Rayon coordination councils were created, and they have taken into their hands all the threads for rendering assistance to senior citizens. There has been an increase in the volume of home-care services. And probably the most important thing is that 65 social assistance sections have been created under the rayon social security offices. An essentially new profession is being created—the social worker. Today, for 5283 elderly and single individuals, life has already changed in a real manner: social workers buy food, prepare meals, go to the drugstore, take their shoes to be repaired, take them in a vehicle (practically every section has one) to the bath house, remember to give them a present on a holiday... Sixty more social assistance sections will be opened this year. An additional 4800 of our single and indigent fellow citizens will, so to speak, taste the fruits of perestroika.

Just think: in the city almost 5500 disabled persons and senior seniors who are living on benefits have an average income of 35.23 rubles. Their budget is being dealt the strongest blows by the rise in prices. The amount of material assistance that the rayon social security offices are capable of rendering to the persons for whom they are responsible is negligible. A total of only 25 free trip tickets to sanatoriums per year are issued to the rayon. The problems are acute.

But they are being resolved! And they are being resolved specifically because they are being carefully monitored. And this is understandable: once a diagnosis is made, treatment is possible.

A diagnosis must be made for absolutely all social groups that are living "below the average." In my opinion, it is obvious where we must begin: with comprehensive base research on indigence as a phenomenon. And on its real scope for Leningrad and its most important sociodemographic features.

The agency which, one would think, out to become the customer is Leningrad City Ispolkom in the person of the Family Service that has been created under it. Who will be the executor? Because the development of the very program for this research will require scientists—economists, sociologists, demographers—to have a sniper's accuracy for zeroing in on the problem. Who, then, will undertake it? Perhaps the Finance and Economics Institute? Or perhaps the University? Or the Institute of Socioeconomic Problems, USSR Academy of Sciences, where thorough research was carried out on the problems of families with a large number of children? But the Administration of Statistics is ready to assume the constant statistical observation of the real situation with regard to the standard of living.

In any case it is abnormal that no one today has at his disposal any comprehensive, systematized material concerning the problem of people living at the poverty level. Not the permanent commission on social security, of Leningrad City Ispolkom, according to an assertion made to me by its chairman, N. Yu. Shumilov. Not the

Leningrad Branch of the Soviet Sociological Association, according to an assertion made by B. Z. Doktorov, chairman of its board. Not the Northwest Branch of TsENII [Central Scientific-Research Institute of Economics], under RSFSR Gosplan. Not the Scientific-Research Institute of Comprehensive Social Research, nor the scientific departments of the major institutions of higher learning...

It is naive to attempt to cope with a phenomenon without having studied it thoroughly. Research—and only research—will help to create a single, citywide social-help program.

Incidentally, there are a few things that can be proposed right now.

First. Who, in the outlying areas, will be the holder of the data that statistics will finally provide? The rayon social security office? That would be unrealistic. What we need—and this is obvious—is a special service at the local soviets, which service would simultaneously become the rayon link in the city's Family Service.

Second. We might recall the cost-accountable centers to find jobs for the public. We have already seen on the papers of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA the idea of converting the center into a kind of company that is economically linked with the rayon's entire network of enterprises and cooperatives. By independently creating jobs, it will be able at any moment to offer part-time or temporary work with good wages. And the applications from people living at the poverty level would be kept on a special shelf and would be satisfied first of all. Wouldn't this be a good idea?

The development of a system of credit and of rental, the granting of long-term loans on preferential terms—aren't these alternative versions of social assistance?

And what about the enterprises' potential! Because it is a fact that in a few places it has become a rule, which is firmly established in the collective contract, to render regular material support to women having two children, single mothers, and fathers who are maintaining a large family. But in other places... I was told at the city's Social Security Office how difficult it sometimes is to ask an enterprise to act as a sponsor for even five of six of its veterans. And, unfortunately, this is frequently the case!

The social assistance program will upset society. It will not leave it indifferent. It will also upset the councils of labor collectives, which today are remaining silent simply because they do not see—or, rather, do not know—these problems. They have not learned how to see. Without a doubt, this program will also open up the faucet of charity. People are already asking, "Does the city's Social Security Office have an account for donations?" No, it doesn't. But it ought to. It should have a single "Social Assistance" account.

...At a certain department I had an argument with an "average" chief. Defending my thought, I paraphrased a well-known English saying that we are not so rich that we can continue to economize at the expense of our standard of living. The chief's immediate reaction practically knocked me off my feet. "Don't you realize," he said aggressively, "that you are quoting a saying that is alien to us, that was born in the bourgeois circles of English society?"

How much more time will we need before we learn that the crux of the matter is not the foreign bourgeoisie, but our own, home-grown lack of desire to realize that the richer each of our own people is, the richer we all are. All of us, taken together.

Letter Disparaging Russian Attitudes Toward 'Small Nations' Draws Protests

18000587a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 24 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Article by A. Mylnikov, doctor of historical sciences, professor at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography imeni N. N. Miklukho-Maklay: "Emotions and Reason: Which Will Prevail?"]

[Text] Two short publications by Leningrad writer Yuriy Pompeyev evoked a flood of letters from readers, whose number at present is approaching 50. First let us briefly recall the subject of this discussion.

On 7 December 1988, the column entitled "Voice of Alarm" in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA published an appeal by Yu. Pompeyev entitled "To the writers of Azerbaijan and Armenia, and to all citizens of the two republics". Calling for reason and restraint, the Leningrad writer specifically stated: "Today, when to our great misfortune, for numerous objective and subjective reasons, including crudeness and unfairness in regard to the small nations on the part of the Russian people, the passions in your republics have become heated to the limit".

The phrase about crudeness and unfairness on the part of the Russian people as being one of the reasons for the conflict evoked, at the admission of the author himself, a negative evaluation from readers. In connection with this, in his statement "On Equality", published two days later as a "response by the opponents", Yu. Pompeyev tried to explain his position. However, this did not satisfy his critics. Letters continued to pour in to the newspaper, and at the same time to the party institutions.

Of that mail which was forwarded to me by the editorial staff, only one letter unequivocally supports both of Yu. Pompeyev's publications. Reader R. Z. Mogen, who reminded us that almost half a million Leningrad residents are of non-Russian nationality, formulated his opinion as follows: "Yet there is in fact no work being done (except religious) on international education. This

is very bad". The other authors of letters, sharing the principle view of Yu. Pompeyev on the vital importance of internationalism, are in decisive disagreement on his affirmation as quoted above.

In order to immediately define my attitude toward the emerging polemics, I will emphasize quite definitely: We cannot hold the Russian people (specifically the people!) responsible for the deplorable events which have taken place in the Transcaucasus republics. Moreover, I must affirm that the blame for this also cannot be placed entirely on both of the fraternal peoples—the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis. I might add that I am not alone in this opinion. This very fact is stated also by the authors of a number of letters. Here, for example, is the letter of P. P. Smirnov (it was also signed by several others—Kozin, Kozlov, Krasnov, Skoblikov, Ryzhov and others). "The simple people of any nationality rightly affirm that they will never contrapose one people to the other. We understand that emotions are a poor judge and advisor, while reason is primarily reason! Yet our answer to this is that they are both the reason and emotions of a Russian person". The question simply comes down to what prevails—emotion or reason?

Undoubtedly, the conflict has its reasons—both objective and subjective. Our country's leadership is taking important steps to eliminate these reasons. With each day it becomes ever clearer that neither the Armenians nor the Azerbaijanis, and especially not the Russians, are to blame for the fact that people who before have peacefully lived side by side have suddenly found themselves torn apart by hatred. The letters of many Leningraders express the thought that they have been torn apart by those who are afraid of the course of renovation and purification of our life. No, these are not some mysterious invisible beings, not some abstract forces of evil, but their fully specific bearers. They, and I believe this, will be called by name to answer for their wrongdoings and provocation of activity in accordance with full strictness of the law. They will be called to answer not only before those to whom they did evil, but also before the Armenian and Azerbaijani people and before all the peoples of our multi-national Homeland.

Returning to the newspaper's mail, I would like to note that many readers, each in his own way, try to find or explain the reason for the emergence of the indicated line in Yu. Pompeyev's appeal: "What is this? Is it an error or a predetermined and provocative speech?" asks party and Armed Forces veteran A. Melentyev from the village of Chernaya Rechka. This publication was perceived in about the same way by K. A. Krasnukhin, A. Z. Romanenko, V. B. Sevastyanova, V. V. Rozhdestvenskiy, and G. M. Arefyev, who also wrote letters. I believe that it is in vain that these readers seek ill intent in the unfortunate phrase of the writer. No, his statements are not premeditated and planned provocation. I believe that in the letter by P. P. Smirnov which we have already mentioned, Yu. Pompeyev's words are defined more precisely as being imprudent.

I do not know the writer Yu. Pompeyev personally, although I have often heard his speeches on television and read his articles and numerous works with interest. The people who know him through common writer's activity characterize the author as a decent and talented man. So, from this standpoint, as they say, all is in order. Yet does this mean that I (and those who sent in the critical letters) can, let alone must, agree with everything that Yu. Pompeyev says? Of course not. Yet to find the truth we need polemics and discussion. We do not need to cry or laugh, but to think—says oriental wisdom. Well, let us try to follow this prudent advice!

It is notable that almost everyone who expressed disagreement with the lines presented above in one way or another touches upon the theme of internationalism. In the letters of people from the older generation (and they comprise the clear majority among our correspondents) we find specific reminiscences about the international fraternity of the Soviet people in the years of the Great Patriotic War. Here, for example, are the words of a participant in the war, communist P. N. Kryzhanovskiy: "In 1943 I was a military serviceman stationed in Baku. The situation in the city was alarming. The city was under blackout, there was a curfew and night patrols. Yet I do not know of a single case when there were any conflicts between the Azerbaijanis and the Russians. Everyone had a common task—to defeat the fascists". The recollections of P. P. Kovalev echo these words, and another war veteran, V. G. Serzhantov, a professor at Leningrad university, also writes about the same thing: "I as a representative of the Russian people had dealings not with one, but with many Azerbaijanis, and not just anywhere, but on the front lines of the Patriotic War. I did not see any dissention or enmity in our ranks, and I do not know of any Russian soldiers or officers exhibiting any unfairness in regard to any of them".

However, we cannot overlook the concern expressed by the authors of a number of letters at the fact that subsequently, violations of principles of national policy made themselves known more and more often, and resulted in various nationalistic relapses. Concern about this is expressed in the letters of O. Arzhelas, O. Venger-skaya, N. T. Remizov, P. I. Sotin and certain other Leningraders. A regular reader of LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, O. Viktorov, who sent in a letter entitled "From your opponent", calls for strengthening the all-Soviet community. He writes: "In 1985, having reserved a room at a hotel in the city of Kirovakan through Lentransagentstvo [Leningrad travel agency], I visited Armenia for the first time not as a guest, but on a business trip, and felt like I was in a national preserve zone, like I had travelled abroad. I was very surprised that at that time no one saw what today has come to the surface". Also, the conflict in the Transcaucasus (like the analogous conflicts in certain other regions) did not arise just today. It has deep-seated causes, whose consequences have in all likelihood been brought to light by the circumstances of glasnost.

We often use the word "internationalism". But do we always stop to think about its meaning? Yet internationalism is—aside from all else—a natural, normal feeling of any person living by socially beneficial labor, be it physical or mental labor. It is simply that [this labor] must be necessary to society. That is the main thing. The higher sense of internationalism stems from this: a respect of the working people for each other, regardless of their nationality.

At the front, Soviet people of different nationalities served a common and vitally important cause. They knew that, in defending their Homeland, they were saving our common home from a dangerous and strong enemy. It has long been noted that if a person respects himself and his cause, then he will also have respect for other people who honestly fulfill their duty. But what if a person does not respect himself, if he does not respect, and often cannot respect, what he does? Will he respect those around him?

They say that each person measures another by his own yardstick. I do not want to challenge this proverb—but is this really so? Still, we quite often judge many things from the standpoint of our own life experience, and often treat others in accordance with it. We might recall in the distant pre-revolutionary times when a carriage driver asked F. I. Shalyapin what he did. "I sing", answered the great artist. "Well, I sing too when I get drunk. I am asking you about your work", replied the carriage driver. Placing our hands over our hearts, have we not all had occasion to hear such "wise" sentences? No, they were not from an illiterate pre-revolutionary carriage driver, who cannot be held to blame, but from certain official leaders to whom it was all the same what duty they were "thrown to"—managing a bath house, a plant, or a scientific-research institute.

Today is it fashionable to criticize bureaucracy and bureaucrats. Well, there are reasons for this. And yet we must maintain a sense of reality. Without prudent bureaucracy the state cannot exist. Yet it must specifically be prudent. Alas, the boundaries between prudent and imprudent, or more simply—between necessary and senseless bureaucracy—have long begun to be obliterated, and in the infamous years of stagnation they had disappeared altogether. Could this be the reason why, for example, when registering in a hotel, among the "necessary" questions one is asked is such information as place and year of birth of the guest and his nationality? As if this were so important for getting a room in a hotel (if it is indeed available) for several days. Especially since all the requested information is available in the passport which is presented to the administrator. This is just one example of absurd bureaucracy. Yet how many other more important and no less absurd ones there are!

In general, interpersonal relations are not always formed easily and simply even among people of the same nationality, the same language and the same culture. But what

if people are of different nationalities? Then, when a conflict situation arises, emotions may gain the upper hand and the so-called ethnic stereotypes may come into play, i.e., the notions, most often exaggerated and incorrect, about people of one nationality or another. It is impossible to undo these knots and get out of the dead ends without instilling the culture of inter-ethnic communication, and in this sphere we have up until now said more than we have done. At times we have a better knowledge of the culture of France or England than of the culture of the peoples with whom we live and work. And not necessarily somewhere "there", "far off", but here, among us, in Leningrad and Leningrad oblast. This is why I believe that the time has long since come to place the matter of instilling the culture of inter-national communication on a strong scientific foundation. In this way, and not with the aid of verbal invocations, we will be able to strengthen that internationalism without which the normal functioning of our society is impossible.

It is characteristic that V. I. Lenin reflected upon this in his articles from late 1922-early 1923, which went down in history as his political testament. Vladimir Ilyich called upon the representatives of the large (Russian) nation to exhibit an especially careful and respectful attitude toward the representatives of those peoples which prior to the Great October Socialist Revolution had been in an unequal and oppressed position. Lenin sharply criticized any violation of equality, "if even due to carelessness, if even in the form of a joke", and said that "in this case it is better to go overboard in the direction of concession and kindness to the national minorities than to deprive them".

Over 7 stormy decades have passed since these words have been spoken. Much has changed in our country. The position of those peoples who were in the past oppressed and about whose actual equality V. I. Lenin was concerned has also changed. And who can deny that a great role in implementing his testaments belonged to the Russian people, although they too did not escape the political repressions of the late 20's-early 50's, the years of military recklessness, the command-administrative methods of managing the culture and the economy. And, comparing the standard of living in the Russian Federation and certain other union republics, readers A. I. Belinskiy, A. I. Baranov, T. P. Yershikhin, A. I. Zhukov, the spouses Komarov and Kozhinov and others painfully ascertain the desolation of numerous rural oblasts of Russia, the lifelessness of the non-chernozem region, and the consequences of volitional methods of eradicating Russian national customs. The readers question whether the workers, peasants and intelligentsia from Novgorod, Orlov or Arkhangelsk Oblasts are really at fault here. The question really is not a simple one, and we cannot reject it. It is traditional in its own way for Russian social thought: Who is guilty?

V. I. Lenin, particularly in his article entitled "On the question of the nationalities or on 'autonomization'",

warned against the danger of "great-Russian chauvenism" and wrote about "great-Russian snobs". Let us, however, see what these words were in reference to, and to whom specifically they were addressed. Especially since V. I. Lenin considered it necessary here to stress that "the abstract formulation of nationalism in general will not do".

Criticizing the Soviet state apparatus of the first post-revolutionary years, the apparatus which "in reality is foreign to us through and through and represents a bourgeois and czarist hodge-podge", V. I. Lenin was concerned for the reality of ensuring full equal rights of the peoples specifically in those days (the article is dated 30-31 December 1922) when our union state was being formed. "Under such conditions," V. I. Lenin continued his thought, "it is quite natural that the 'freedom to leave the union' with which we justify ourselves will turn out to be a meaningless piece of paper, incapable of protecting persons of other nationality in Russia against the invasion of that truly Russian person, the great-Russian chauvenist, who is in essence a scoundrel and a coercer, and who is the typical Russian bureaucrat".

Here V. I. Lenin mentioned the "irritability" and "meddling" of G. K. Ordzhonikidze, the "haste and administrative fervor of Stalin", the shortcomings in investigating the so-called "Georgian affair" by the commission headed by F. E. Dzerzhinskiy. At the same time, V. I. Lenin made a sharp and characteristic comment that: "we know that the Russified aliens always go overboard in terms of a truly Russian sentiment". From this it becomes clear what V. I. Lenin understood under the concept of a "truly Russian sentiment". Bureaucratism which speaks Russian—this is where he saw the greatest danger for the future, and that means for you and me, dear reader!

F. Engels wrote that bureaucracy is devoid of nationality. Thus, it is not surprising that the handle of the bloody meat grinder of the 1930's was alternately turned by the Jew Yagoda, the Russian Yezhov, and the Georgian Beriia. Is nationality really the essence of the problem? This essence is in the definite position of the executors, in the moral qualities (and absence thereof) of the bearers of state power.

The command-administrative system of management which had been affirmed in the pre-war years, whose emergence and viability may be explained historically, absorbed many of the negative qualities of that "Russian bureaucrat" (not necessarily Russian in origin), about whom V. I. Lenin wrote. Among these qualities are crudeness, deliberate ignorance, scorn for the attitudes of subordinates, and obsequiousness toward superiors. How dearly this cost all those peoples of our country, including, obviously, also the Russian people!

How much has already been said and written about the thoughtless selection of construction sites for new industrial enterprises. Historical peculiarities and national-cultural specifics of the assimilated territories—all this

interests the bureaucratic machine least of all, and most often not at all. Only as a result of truly all-people's resistance, supported by the highest leadership of the party and the state, has it been possible to stop the outrageous project of re-routing the northern rivers to the south. Yet the intrepid all-terrain vehicles still continue to furrow the permafrost zones, tearing away the thin layer of Iceland moss which serves as food for the reindeer. It will take several decades for nature to restore it! The complete ethnographic ignorance of the builders and land reclaimers in Siberia and the Far East is literally crippling the traditional lifestyle of the small peoples living there, depriving them of their natural lands for raising reindeer, for fishing and hunting. Unpurified or poorly purified industrial waste is being dumped not only into the rivers, but even into such unique natural monuments as Lake Baykal and Ladoga. The Aral Sea is slowly dying before our very eyes. This martyrology of bureaucratic insanity can go on and on. But is this really the point?

Truly, we cannot see the forest for the trees. After all, all these actions which are being taken without consideration not only for ecological, but also for ethnographic factors, deal a blow to the culture of the local population, including Russian. This is not to mention the primary factor—the danger posed to the health of the Soviet people.

But what is bureaucracy? And what about us? Do we stand somewhere aside? Let us be self-critical. Let us recall the mercilessness with which the monuments of Russian national history and culture were destroyed, and in some places are still being destroyed even to this day. Are we instilling love and respect toward them in the upcoming generation? Recently, while I was in Tbilisi, I got to talking with a group of Georgian technical intelligentsia. "Every Georgian," one of them told me, "can quote you by heart large excerpts from 'The Champion in the Tiger Skin'. Yet I have not yet met any Russian engineers who recall the poems of A. S. Pushkin by memory". And here he recited "The Prophet". I must admit, I was embarrassed. What could I say? Only that we have acquired a shortage of kindness and national dignity?

Why point to the rudeness of shopkeepers or the intolerance of certain literary critics? Are we not all guilty of the same thing? For example, some readers, in arguing with Yu. Pompeyev, accompany their reasoning with insulting epithets which are even awkward to cite. Right away they accuse the writer of an intent to "counterpose the small nations of the country to the Russian people" (G. F. Grigoryev, M. G. Makarov), of an "apparent illness" and "megalomania" (V. I. Sigov)—going so far as to demand that the writer be taken to court (Yu. A. Sorvin). Yet from time immemorial entirely different qualities were characteristic of the Russian people—generosity, compassion, and pity. Reader P. I. Sotin correctly reminded us of this in his letter.

And yet the friendship of peoples is more than just pretty words. It is correctly said that a person shows himself best in times of trouble. And it has come, this unexpected and terrible trouble. By random coincidence, the appeal of Yu. Pompeyev appeared in the newspaper on the very same day that the earthquake occurred in Armenia. And the pain of the Armenian people became our common pain. This was pointed out by reader A. D. Krykanov: "Today, when Armenia has been stricken with natural disaster, the entire country will give aid, and the Russian people will not be the last". And this is really so.

I do not believe that anyone is capable of insulting an entire people. People who smugly destroy "someone else's" nationality for the imaginary aggrandizement of their own are incapable of insulting anyone except themselves. They are merely making a public statement of their own spiritual immaturity and psychological inadequacy. Yet let us also not forget the opposite. National dignity is inseparable from national self criticism, if, of course, we love our people and care about its future. Without mutual respect, the life of any society is unthinkable. Especially of our Soviet multi-national society!

Veps Nationality Dying Out in USSR

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in Russian 11 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Article by T. Marina: "To the Veps for Exotica?"]

[Text] My friend was getting married. "You are going to be my witness at the wedding," she told me, handing me the passports—her own and her "bridegroom's". There were a number of formalities which had to be taken care of at the civil registrar's office, and this honorary mission was conferred upon me. And if it had not been for the coincidence in circumstances, I would probably never have learned that my friend was a Veps by nationality. Or, in the colloquial, a Vepsyanka.

Later, when I returned her passport, I noticed the embarrassment on her face. And the alarmed question: "You won't tell anyone, will you?" Then quickly she blurted out: "When I was getting my passport I wanted to register as a Russian. The passport agent and my relatives all told me to do so. Everyone except my mother. I listened to my mother. And now, well...I have changed my name. I will be changing my passport, and then I will change my nationality".

At that time I was not very surprised or touched by this story. Such "changes of nationality" for us, you must agree, are not uncommon. That far-away specific fact, dating back to my university days, has taken on a new coloration and was later understood and evaluated in a different manner.

THE VEPS. WHO ARE THEY?

HOW DID THIS PEOPLE "DISAPPEAR"?

THE EMPTY SETTLEMENTS

WHO WILL DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS?

SHELTOZERSK MELODIES

THE "MODEL" OF REBIRTH

Have you ever heard of the land of Vepsariya? Neither have I. Yet it is specifically this name that every now and then will slip by in publications dealing with the problems—economic, social and national—of a large region extending from the Priozhnyye to the Boksitogorsk region of our oblast, from the forest villages of Tikhvinskiy and Lodeynopolskiy rayons to the Vologda forest depths. Vepsariya is the picturesque name of the territory inhabited by the Veps, a linguistically Prebaltic-Finnish people whose closest relatives are the Karelians, Finns and Estonians.

History has turned out in such a way that the geographically unified land of the Veps in our day has been divided between Karelia and Leningrad and Vologda oblasts. Here, in Leningrad oblast is the center of Vepsariya. Based on the number of Veps living in the territory, eight rural Soviets found in Podporozhskiy, Lodeynopolskiy, Tikhvinskiy and Voksitogorskiy rayons of the oblast could have been named Veps national rural soviets.

Today we say "could have been named...". Yet the old-timers living there remember for sure that in the 30's there was an entire national rayon—Vinnitskiy rayon, with its center in the village of Vinnitsy. Veps villages in the neighboring rayons were isolated into national rural soviets, and there were plans to create one more national rayon based on them. Veps cadres to work in the local organs were being trained at the oblast school for national minorities which existed at that time in Leningrad. Veps literacy was being developed. Elementary school children were taught in their native language. A Veps department was opened at the Lodeynopolsk Pedagogical Vocational-Technical School.

This is all from the history of our century. But what if we look into the depths of the ages? Beginning with the 6th century, the Russian chronicles repeatedly made mention of a tribute payer and true ally of Rus—Ves. The ancient Ves tribe is considered to be the forebears of the Veps. The Veps language remains the most ancient in the Prebaltic-Finnic family of languages. In the opinion of most Ves researchers—the Veps possess one of the most brilliant and richest cultures of the European North, the Kurgans of the 10th-13th centuries, in whom the interest of archeologists has not waned for almost two centuries now.

We have no reason to doubt the antiquity of the Veps culture. Just visit the Podporozhskiy rayon. The Vinnitsy graveyard is mentioned in the Novgorod Chronicles of the 13th-14th centuries. In the depths of the rayon you will find churches—wooden and unique in their architecture. Scientists believe that they are older than the Kizhey.

So, is not our Vepsariya a land of exotica?

I will say right now: As of last year, 1-2 days have been set aside here for "savoring" this exotica. Perhaps this phrase might seem strange to you. The fact is that the year before last the national holiday of "Drevo zhizni" [Tree of Life] was celebrated for the first time on the territory of Leningrad Vepsariya—in Vinnitsy and Ozery. It attracted not only its own Veps, but also those from Vologda and Karelia. This is where you could hear Veps songs and marvel at the handiwork of the people's masters and artisans, and drink tea with round loaves—the national Veps laked goods. This is where you could hear folk tales and take part in games.

This holiday may be likened to the life-giving moisture which does not saturate, but merely sprinkles the rather dry roots of the Veps people. It is no wonder that the local authorities decided that the holiday must become traditional. Last year it was celebrated in Vinnitsy already for the second time.

But holidays come to an end. Life goes on. It goes on with lack of roads which is also, alas, traditional in our Leningrad Vepsariya, with empty villages, with a loss of the national language, and with disappearance of the nationality.

When did this disappearance begin?

Nikolay Pavlovich Sokolov, a resident of the Boksitogorsk village of Radogoshch and a Veps by birth, recalls:

"In the late 1930's it was—in 1937 or 1938. I was still in school then. Once some strangers came to our lesson and took away our grammar books and other texts written in the Veps language. They went to all the houses and also took away all the Veps books."

Let us clarify. Teaching of the Veps language in the schools was discontinued at the end of 1937. Since that time, the Veps language survives only through the spoken word. At that time, the national rayon and rural soviets were abolished, and the territories with Veps population were handed over to Vologda Oblast.

Here is what Zinaida Ivanovna Strogalschikova, senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Karelian Branch Institute of Language, Literature and History and candidate in historical sciences, had to say.

"Back in 1939 there were 32,000 Veps. Since that time there has been a steady decline in their numbers. In 1959 it was 16,000, and in 1970 it was 8,000. I might add that in the places originally inhabited by the Veps, in the villages of Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts, where in 1959 there were around 7,500 persons, by 1970 there remained only... 337 people. And then, finally, there was the census of 1979. It gave no information at all on the Veps in Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts."

It turns out... there are none? Have they disappeared?

"The associates of our institute," continued Zinaida Ivanovna, "went to the Veps villages and towns to conduct a study. And here is what they found. The population here is listed as being Russian in the record books. As the workers of the rural Soviets told us, this was done at the order of the superior organs. The passports were changed on the same basis. Our institute's scientists developed a special questionnaire according to which a mass survey of the population was conducted regarding their actual national affiliation. Today there is every reason to affirm that around 4,000-4,500 Veps living in their homeland, in Leningrad and Vologda Oblasts, were not counted in the census of 1979. On the whole throughout the country, their numbers in 1983 (the year our studies were concluded) comprised from 12,000 to 12,500 persons. The times are changing, and the national self-awareness of the people is also changing. We strongly believe that the upcoming census of 1989 will give an objective picture of the national population."

For Zinaida Ivanovna Strogalschikova, the Veps problems are not only a "duty of service". They are not merely a new social work—recently Strogalschikova was elected member of the district electoral commission of the new RSFSR Leningrad Rural National Territorial District Number 20 for election of the USSR people's deputies. This is her life. She herself by birth is from among the Leningrad Veps. And who better than Strogalschikova should know that the problems of her people are not reduced merely to the prohibition of the "superior organs" to indicate one's true nationality in the appropriate column of a passport or questionnaire? The problems are much deeper and broader.

All the "pains" of the Non-Chernozem region—the absence of roads, the absence of construction, the shortage of necessary social-cultural institutions—have become a heavy burden on Vepsariya. Judge for yourselves: In the two Veps rural Soviets—in Sidorovskiy of Boksitogorskiy rayon and in Alekseyevskiy of Tikhvinskiy rayon there are not even any elementary schools. When we speak of economically backward sovkhoses of the oblast, our gaze is directed there, to the north-east, to the remote farms of the Podporozhskiy, Lodeynopolskiy, Tikhvinskiy and Boksitogorskiy rayons. It would be incorrect to affirm that the people living here do not

know how to work or do not like to work. They know how, and they also know that even such a "difficult", bog-ridden land can feed every one of them. It only has to be irrigated with sweat.

And by the way, we might note that not one of the oblast's rayons have retained such an attachment to the private homestead as in these outlying rayons. While in other sovkhozes year after year the herd size of cattle on the private homestead is declining, in the Veps "depths", in the "Ozerskoy" sovkhoz, I have had occasion to meet with young families for whom their cow, their lamb, their chickens, geese, ducks and rabbits are an inalienable, necessary part of their everyday life.

It is another matter that there are getting to be fewer and fewer young people in the Veps villages. Also, the disproportion between the number of men and women is clear. The male population here is greater than the female. Evidently, it is not for nothing that they call the Veps a dying breed of fair-haired giants.

The reasons for the migration of the youth are clear. The living conditions in the Veps villages do not meet current demands. A stability in the economic development of the region is needed, but it does not exist. Neither in large nor small things. Judge for yourselves. In the Bokstogorsk sovkhoz "Radogoshchinskiy", the construction of a road leading to the central farmstead took so long that many who could not wait for its completion went to other villages which are located closer to cities. Others found shelter in the cities themselves. They built the school in just the same way. By the time they had finished building it, there was no one left to study there. For the sixth year they are "dragging out" the road leading to the village of Sidorovo. And who knows how much longer they will drag it out.

The oblast's excessive fascination with "centralization" of livestock raising—the leading sector of agricultural production—was subjected to criticism at all levels. And specifically: the fascination with construction of large livestock raising complexes and farms. Nevertheless, the sovkhozes of the northeastern depths of the oblast are infected with this "gigantomania". So they are in a hurry to make up for what has been lost. It would be imprudent to completely reject the emergence of livestock raising giants and to contrapose them to "small" farms. Yet something else is also imprudent at the present time—that is to plan the construction of these same giants for the Veps sovkhoz depths. This will curtail the already slow rate of development of the farms. In this connection, the history of construction of a complex for raising calves at the "Vinnitskiy" sovkhoz is indicative. The history of this endeavor has gone into its second decade. There are no guarantees that the planned construction of the large dairy farm at the "Ozerskoy" sovkhoz will not turn out to be another such long drawn-out construction project.

And yet it would seem that we no longer have to prove that one cannot think of better forms of organization of labor for these farms than the work-for-hire, individual, family order, and the activization of the work of "small" farms. There is no need to prove this fact. The sovkhoz managers themselves seemingly understand it all. For everything they are "in favor". In words or in deed? Today it is difficult to name even one farm where work is proceeding at full speed on introducing new and progressive forms of labor organization capable of bringing [the farms] out of economic dependence, of breathing life into the half empty villages and towns, and of returning to the land its master.

The "heart" of Leningrad Vepsariya—the Podporozhskiy rayon—is in a sorrowful state. The misfortune of the rayon lies primarily in the fact that there is no strong construction organization here. Glavzapstroy [Territorial Main Administration on Construction in the Western Rayons of the RSFSR] Trust No 69 serves two rayons at the same time here—the Podporozhskiy and Lodeynopolskiy. The "offshoot" of the trust is the PMK-369, which has been based in Podporozhye since 1983. It is weak and cannot handle the full volume of construction necessary in the rayon. The sovkhozes are forced to take on the functions of the "executor". They do so without any guarantee of efficiency in their work. What guarantee can the "Ozerskoy" sovkhoz give, for example, in the plans for development of the rayon submitted by the "executor" of the construction of the ATS [automatic telephone station]? The economically underdeveloped farm, which finds itself in the difficult position of seeking forms and methods of work under new conditions is today simply unable to fully subsidize its construction.

I would like to tell about one other fact. This is not directly tied with the question of economic development of the region, but in the context of telling about the "dying breed of fair-haired giants", I believe, it will not be out of place.

The Vinnitskiy national rayon, as we have already said, ceased its existence in the late 30's. Yet the hospital in Vinnitsy up until recently has retained the status of a rayon hospital. In all fairness, the zone which it services is large. However, today the hospital is being changed over in status to a district hospital. The first thing that this, to put it mildly, ill-thought out decision, will entail is a reduction in staff. And with a reduction in staff, you understand, it is difficult to expect an improvement in medical services. Especially since we are speaking of providing services to residents of a rather extensive territory.

Here they are, the problems—large and small, and unresolved. And their result is the mass migration of the Veps to the cities. For the nationality this process is becoming irreversible in the direct sense of the word. The migrants

are young people who enter into mixed marriages and... "disappear". And so, just like this, "having changed her nationality", my university friend "disappeared".

Quite recently, in October, I had occasion to participate in a regional interdepartmental conference on "The Veps: Problems of Economic and Cultural Development Under Conditions of Perestroyka". The conference was held in Petrozavodsk, and its organizers, among others, were the RSFSR Council of Ministers, the Soviet Culture Fund, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

The delegation of Veps from our oblast was quite representative at the conference. Whatever problem our fellow countrymen raised—speaking out from the tribunal or in the "lobby" discussions—the conversation always came down to the primary reason, in their opinion, for all their misfortunes. They saw this, the primary reason, in the extreme remoteness of the region from the oblast center. And as a consequence, they spoke of the weakened attention of the oblast organizations to the depths, of the absence of reliable control by the oblast institutions over the activity of their subordinates in the remote rayons. Of course, we may say that the point of view of Nikolay Pavlovich Sokolov from Radogoshchi, who is already known to us, is subjective, and yet...

"We rarely see the rayon leadership here. And why even speak of the oblast leadership?... For the management, it seems, the only interest in our region is to hunt the wildlife and to go berry picking in the bogs. It is a good thing that our forests, those which have not yet been cut down, are good for the hunters and the berry pickers and the mushroom pickers. Otherwise... we are 'stepchildren'."

Vladimir Vasilyevich Pylin, ispolkom secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, who participated directly in the conference, was asked the following question: "Is there at least one Veps within the make-up of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies?"

The answer was negative. As it turns out, there is no one to defend the interests of the Veps in the oblast Soviet.

There is also no one to defend the interests of the Vologda Veps. In the local organs of authority there are also no representatives of this nationality.

But the situation is entirely different in Karelia.

We must pay the Karelian ASSR its due. The republic has been able to give the Veps, as the native residents of the kray, the attention they deserve. Recent studies by scientists have shown that there were no divergences between the actual number of Veps and the official data. The young people who go off to the cities retain their nationality.

I had occasion to visit the large Veps village of Sheltozero in Prionezhye. This village, like our own Vinnitsy in its time, was the center of the Veps national rayon. It is true, the Sheltozerskiy rayon was abolished much later than the Vinnitskiy, in 1956.

How carefully the Veps national traditions are preserved here! In Sheltozer there is a museum of national culture. The Veps people's folklorical chorus is well known to all Karelia.

I had the good fortune of seeing a performance of the chorus. It was an impressive sight. It is difficult to believe that this large collective (there are two groups in the chorus—children and adults), which is so well ordered and devoted to the depths of its soul to their folk songs and dances, was born in a remote forest kray. The chorus performed in Moscow, gave concerts abroad, and was a guest in Veps villages of Leningrad oblast. Having visited Leningrad's Vepsariya, the Sheltozers noted that the language of the Veps here was "purer" and had been better preserved.

Yet regardless of how the Veps language has been preserved, today only old people speak it. The young people speak it rarely. The children... understand it, of course, but already do not speak it. As it turns out: First the language lost its written form, and now it is dying out altogether? There is no instruction in the native language in the schools of Veps villages in Leningrad oblast.

Yet in Sheltozer, in the local secondary school (we might add that this is the only secondary school in the Veps kray) 3 years ago they began teaching the Veps language. The interest in it was so great that they had to organize additional classes for the adults. Not only those who were Veps by birth came to these classes, but also people of other nationalities—there are also many of them in Sheltozer.

The Sheltozer residents have set a noble task for themselves: To turn the village into the center of Veps culture. We hope that this dream is realized. But... In Sheltozer I had occasion to speak also with the chairman of the local rural soviet, as well as with the director of the rural school and others. And each time I heard the sobering thought: All the Veps problems must be resolved in an integrated manner. This means that Sheltozer will not be the aesthetic center as long as the sovkhos is among those which lag behind, as long as the migration of the youth to the cities continues, as long as... In short, as long as this tightly intertwined cluster of problems exists.

Where, then, can we seek the initial point of departure in these resolutions? Perhaps—in this.

The Veps were among the first to submit a request for aid in their rebirth to the Council for Preservation and Development of the Culture of Small Peoples of the RSFSR, which was created under the Soviet Culture Fund. The Council made the decision: To use the

example of this people to develop and introduce a unique "model of rebirth" for any small nationality. The basis for this model was the notion of autonomy. The return of the Veps to autonomy is the first step in the rebirth of this people.

I hold in my hands the Recommendation of the regional interdepartmental conference on "The Veps: Problems of Economic and Cultural Development Under Conditions of Perestroyka". The conference organizing committee has sent these same Recommendations to the RSFSR Council of Ministers. Yet while the fate of the Veps, the fate of Vepsariya, is being resolved in the capital "upper echelons", the Leningrad oblispolkom cannot remain aside from the solution of the problems.

The time has come to seriously review with the participation of the scientific organizations the proposal about creating a national Veps rayon in the area where the Veps live, at the same time resolving the questions which cannot be put off. These are the questions of economic development of the Veps villages, the questions associated with teaching the Veps language in the schools, and the questions of a demographic character. Also, these are such questions which are at first glance "minor", but which in their essence are extremely important, such as the creation of folklore ensembles in the old Veps villages and farms. We can continue this list indefinitely. Yet would it not be better to go from word to deed?

Look at the map of the oblast, at the northeast. You will see Vinnitsy, Ozera, Korbenichi, Korbala, Ozrovichi, Radogosh. The official geographical name is the Veps Highlands. It is the homeland of the Veps.

**ESSR Leadership Bodies Address Republic
Regarding Independence Day**
*18000663 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 22 Feb 89 p 1*

[Appeal of the Estonian CP Central Committee, Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Estonian SSR Council of Ministers to all the inhabitants of Estonia in connection with the upcoming 24 February Estonian Independence Day]

[Text] The Estonian people have traveled a complicated and contradictory path of development.

The decision to proclaim 24 February as Estonia's Independence Day and to raise the blue, black and white national flag on the Dlinny German Tower on that day is an important step toward restoring the dignity of the Estonian people and recognizing their true history.

The Great October Socialist Revolution established the preconditions for the self-determination of the peoples of Russia. The inhabitants of Estonia actively participated in the October events. An exceptional situation

was created where the Estonian bolsheviks had an opportunity to implement V. I. Lenin's proposal about proclaiming an Estonian state based on the right of nations to self-determination. However, this opportunity was not realized by the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918.

Fact remains fact. The honor of proclaiming the state belongs to politicians of a national and democratic orientation who displayed boldness and initiative. The democratic Estonian republic, which was proclaimed on 24 February 1918, was the Estonian people's first state formation. It embodied the people's eternal striving to resolve all matters on their land by themselves.

The Estonian bolsheviks' attempt, which followed this, to unite the working people within the framework of the Estlyandskiy Labor Commune was not crowned with success. Their previous underestimation of the idea of national independence, failure to accept nations as independent values and the failure of their agrarian policy to coincide with the expectations of the peasants had an effect.

The Peace of Tartu was concluded on 2 February 1920 between Soviet Russia and the Estonia Republic. In compliance with it, Estonia left the common front of European states against Soviet Russia and was recognized at last as an independent republic. During the Second World War which changed the spheres of influence of the great powers, Estonia became part of the USSR. Instead of the expected flowering, the people encountered the perverted Stalinist model of socialism. The history of the Estonian people, however, was not cut short in 1940; it has lived and worked on its native land for all of these decades. This gives it the moral and political right to evaluate today and to design tomorrow. The calls to contrast one historical period with another are essentially aimed at splitting the people during a turning point in their development and that is why they will not find support.

When condemning the state and bureaucratic system that was conveyed to us from the arsenals of the past and criticizing the mistakes and errors of the previous Estonian Communist Party leadership, it is impossible to make the honest work of several generations of Estonian people for the good of the motherland null and void. The independence and originality of the people were not blended with the command economy that was established. Despite the Stalinist tyranny and the bureaucratic dullness of stagnation, however, the Estonian people preserved their language and culture and took from their grandfathers the baton of hard work and protected close to their heart the values of their national way of life, their symbols and their striving for statehood.

The policy of restructuring, which the party has begun, has established the preconditions for restoring the people's historical memory and for freely demonstrating the national pride that was suppressed by Stalinism.

The successes of democratization and glasnost in the republic, the new political policy of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee in solving our problems, which was developed during the 11th Plenum, and the real improvements on the path toward consolidating different population groups are restoring the people's trust in the authorities.

It is not easy to correct past mistakes; an honest confession is difficult for all of us. However, we want to and we will be able to travel this path as one people, marching in step. At this turning point in our life, the people need faith in the future. They need unity, steadiness and a sense of responsibility. Only in this way will we be able to determine our fate ourselves.

World experience shows that only free people, who are confident in tomorrow, successfully develop their economy and create a distinctive culture. Estonia's progress is possible only with the cooperation of all national and social groups and democratic movements. However, it assumes the native population's right to be the masters of their fate and to have the necessary guarantees on their land. The confidence of the Estonians and their natural development will insure the confidence of all Estonia's inhabitants.

The union of equal and sovereign republics, the freeing of state and all public life from the legacy of Stalinism and stagnation that are alien to socialism, and the establishment of a socialist legal state are our ideals. In our view, the future of sovereign socialist Estonia—an equal member in the union of Soviet peoples—will be based on the republic's self-management and cost accounting and on mutually beneficial and equal collaboration.

The leaders of the republic's agencies are aware of their responsibilities to the citizens of Estonia and will do everything to insure for them a life that is protected and worthy of an individual. In congratulating the Estonian people and all the inhabitants of Estonia on the coming Independence Day, we declare our determination to continue the policy of renewal and we call upon everyone to support it with concrete deeds for the good of our republic.

LaSSR Official on Republic Decision to Compensate Victims of Repression

18000572 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian
2 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with M. Skulte, first deputy minister of the Latvian SSR Ministry of Finance, by LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin: "To Restore Justice"]

[Text] Can human grief be measured? Can money compensate for years of wandering and the loss of one's homeland? It would be blasphemy to answer these questions in the affirmative. For many people who were victims

of Stalinist repression in the years 1940, 1941 and 1949, however, it would be nice to get back property that was illegally taken from them and to be compensated for losses suffered at that time.

[Sebyakin] Maigonis Adolfovich, what is the primary reason for the recent decree of the republic's Council of Ministers on the rights of citizens whose administrative exile beyond the borders of the Latvian SSR has been acknowledged to be unjustified?

[Skulte] To put it briefly, it pursues the objective of restoring justice, to the extent that this is possible. Many families in Latvia and beyond its borders were waiting for this decree. It is a humane act by the government of the republic on behalf of innocent victims of lawlessness and one of the steps on the way to a government of law.

Now under review are about 3,000 claims of citizens for the return of their property or for indemnification of its value. And although we only very recently began to pay compensation, several dozen claimants have already received it. And the flow of similar requests is not drying up.

[Sebyakin] The most acute problem is that of housing. How does the decree define the rights of illegally repressed persons in this matter?

[Skulte] Banished persons as well as their relatives who followed them have the special right to obtain dwellings if they are in need of improving their living conditions and we are also registering those citizens who want to join a house-building or housing cooperative with the right to obtain housing on a priority basis.

Those who have been rehabilitated but have not yet returned to Latvia also have the right to receive the dwellings that they occupied prior to their exile provided of course, that they have been preserved. Within 1 year from the date of the claim, the ispolkoms of local soviets of people's deputies provide these citizens with dwellings in the territory where they lived prior to their exile.

[Sebyakin] A vitally important question for many rehabilitated persons is that of the receipt of a more or less decent pension.

[Skulte] The decree sets forth that the time of exile is counted in their overall and continuous service and also in the length of service in their specialty. Also included in the continuous service is hired labor after returning from exile, regardless of the length of interruptions in the work. The time spent in the Far North and in places equated with the Far North after 1 August 1945 is included in the service time, giving them a right to a preferential pension with no limitations, regardless of whether the citizen stayed in these regions or left for other regions of the country. Let me add that in case of

the loss of the breadwinner, pensions are granted to families on the usual terms. In addition, increased pensions are entered only from the time of the submission of the claim.

[Sebyakin] What documents are necessary to receive compensation?

[Skulte] I have already named the primary document—the claim of the rehabilitated citizen or, in the event of his death, of family members or other heirs. It is desirable that it be submitted within 3 years of the moment when the decision is made acknowledging that the exile was unjustified. The application is made to the rayispolkom in the territory where these people lived prior to exile.

[Sebyakin] Does the decree require the return of confiscated structures and other property?

[Skulte] Yes. When they have not been preserved, there is compensation for their value. It is impossible, of course, to take everything into account. We also very frequently run into the fact that no documents have been preserved. Therefore, the authorities offer the claimants 3,000 rubles compensation for their property. This version is quite satisfactory for many. But both in this case and when there is disagreement about this sum (a purely symbolic amount, of course, that is more a moral compensation), the ispolkom must demand and obtain documents on the confiscation, removal and sale of property from archives and other institutions, appraise its value and determine the composition of the property to be returned.

[Sebyakin] There is probably no use hoping that such documents will be found, after so much time has passed!

[Skulte] Miracles do happen but most often such documents, if they are found, turn out to be hastily prepared and full of errors, so that they are of little use. But this is no reason for despair, for it is permissible to determine the composition of returnable property by questioning witnesses as well as on the basis of other evidence.

[Sebyakin] For example?

[Skulte] Well, for example, a collection of paintings belonging to you and hanging in a museum. It is possible to determine where these canvases came from through the register of receipts. In such a case, the museum will provide the appropriate information and it will be the basis for payment.

[Sebyakin] What rates are used to determine the amount of compensation?

[Skulte] If it is a matter of buildings, they use the current assessment standards of the State Insurance Office, but in accordance with the depreciation on the day of

confiscation. Cattle, poultry and other agricultural products are evaluated at the current purchase price in the given locality. The same principle applies for other property as well. If there are no effective retail prices for particular items, then it is at the agreement of both sides.

[Sebyakin] Is there an upper limit to the amount of compensation?

[Skulte] There was no limit to the confiscation in the 1940's, so why should there be any limitation now? There is nothing else to be done here: if we do not want to mislead the trust of people, then it is necessary to restore to them in full what was taken from them.

[Sebyakin] In that case, those who, as fate would have it, found themselves beyond the borders of the USSR probably must also be compensated?

[Skulte] Certainly. We cannot, however, make any exceptions for them and must compensate the losses in Soviet currency only.

[Sebyakin] Do you have anything you want to say to those who decide to submit a claim?

[Skulte] They must be patient in any case. Quite a long time may pass between the day of the claim submission and the decision to return the property or its value. Matters of this kind must be examined carefully. Heretofore we have had no experience in this kind of work; it arose in an unplanned manner and all at once.

I also have a request to make to farm managers who have to use sovkhoz or kolkhoz funds to compensate some loss that was once caused by someone and return homes and equipment to former owners. Be understanding and do not oppose the precise and fair implementation of the decree of the republic Council of Ministers. Otherwise rehabilitated citizens will have to appeal to courts for help and then the farm will have the additional burden of court costs.

And one more thing. In the event that the received compensation seems inadequate, the citizens have the right to request reexamination of the question of compensation for a loss.

LaSSR's Misurkin Discusses Economic Issues *18080035 Riga CINA in Latvian 10 Jan 89 p 3*

[Interview by G. Grundulis with the 1st deputy chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers Oleg Misurkin: "Industry During the Time of Changes in Attitudes and Requirements"]

[Text] [Grundulis] As last year, we meet at the start of a new working year. Therefore, let us look back for a moment at what has been already done and, which is even more important, let us discuss what is ahead.

[Misurkin] The last year was important both for the economy and the development of democracy, and was instrumental in the further development of our society. True, we also had certain problems and there were various attitudes toward certain novelties. However, we again made a step forward. Production volume, profits, and the results achieved in the consumers goods production were higher than in 1987.

One of the complicated problems is the implementation of science and the technological progress in our industry. Many departmental authorities and enterprises still do not have a sufficiently flexible system to develop various types of cooperation with other plants, associations, and regions. Today, we will not achieve much using the old technology, designs, organization of production, and way of thinking. All this is especially important in preparation for the transfer of the republic to the full cost accounting beginning in 1990.

Due to the fact that we are preparing to transfer to full cost accounting at the republic level under conditions of limited labor availability, the issue of new forms of cooperation among enterprises and associations becomes very important. The way to accomplish this task is by joining forces, creating joint production and shops, and broadening mutual cooperation.

[Grundulis] How will it look in reality?

[Misurkin] For example, to develop our radio engineering complex, we could combine the knowledge, efforts, and capabilities of Kommutator, Radiotekhnika, Alfa, and, of course, VEF, one of our industry's leaders. Such enterprises as the Robotics plant, an industrial association for machine tools production, and others could also participate. Cooperation between Alfa and VEF would definitely improve production of the efficient, modern switching equipment.

We must search for ways of transferring the management of small enterprises (300-700 employees) to either State cooperatives, or, what is even better, to cooperatives. Such a measure would allow them to control their production structure and the number of employees, and to find more effective means of material stimulation. Foreign experience shows us that their productivity at similar enterprises with approximately the same level of technology is substantially higher.

[Grundulis] Obviously, such measures would also help to reduce the processes of fast migration.

[Misurkin] Obviously cooperatives would sharply reduce the desire to hire more people. Why is it that abroad they like their enterprises so much? Without any doubt, mainly because of the material incentives. Our cooperative enterprises could open similar opportunities.

[Grundulis] Our republic has many industrial enterprises. There was a time, when we were proud of this fact. However, at the present time, we have various difficulties with them, one of which is the acute problem of ecology.

[Misurkin] Yes. Here we must without delay get together with the USSR Gosplan and All-Union ministries in order to find an effective solution to this problem. We must also purposefully involve the Latvian scientists, in particular, specialists from the Academy of Sciences to resolve ecological problems. In the nearest future we must create a flexible structure of ecological management and to organize regional centers in the towns, which would implement concrete measures at the enterprises to liquidate harmful production shops and to replace them with other, ecologically clean ones on a basis of cooperation, to search for safe methods for a sharp reduction in industrial waste, and to eliminate the liquid waste dumps. We must use the experience obtained both in our State and abroad by asking foreign firms for assistance.

Together with the Ventspils ispolkom we are resolving the difficult ecological problems of this town. We introduced very concrete proposals on the subject to the USSR Council of Ministers and the USSR Gosplan.

Speaking of Olaine, we can say with satisfaction that during the past year the situation was significantly changed to the better. Unfortunately, the scheduled measures directed toward the construction of facilities to protect the environment were fulfilled only by 64 percent, which does not add credit either to the republic, or the LaSSR Construction committee. A large part of problems in Olaine may be attributed to the imbalance of the industrial and communal facilities. This disproportion shall be definitely corrected even if it is not easy to do.

I recently expressed my opinion about the Sioka cellulose and paper factory at the session of the Jurmala Soviet of people's deputies. How cellulose is being produced at the present time and the technology available in our country do not support a successful solution to the ecological problems. Very soon I am going to a meeting at the USSR State Committee for environmental protection, where, based on our request, the subject of cellulose production in Sioka will again be discussed. We are presenting this issue unambiguously, that is, already in the nearest future we must find a source to bring in the necessary volumes of cellulose instead of producing it locally. In the nearest future we will invite foreign specialists to find out for ourselves and the All-Union departmental authorities, first of all, the USSR Ministry of the timber industry, whether there are methods of resolving ecological problems in principle. If such methods exist, we must assess, whether it is more efficient to invest many million of rubles in the Sioka plant, or to invest this sum into cellulose production expansion at Arkhangelsk, or other large plants.

[Grundulis] As we know, additional tasks are assigned to the industries in connection with the prioritizing of agriculture.

[Misurkin] This decision must now materialize in concrete tasks and solutions. The main issues, namely, of tooling, development and production of fasteners, and thermal and refrigerating equipment, machine benches and regional machine building, have been discussed and agreed upon. Many enterprises, such as the Riga experimental plant for technological tools, the standard machine bench parts plant RAF, and the Liepaja agricultural machine building plant well understood the necessity of the agriculture's priority. Unfortunately, it is not so everywhere. Obviously, we cannot implement this decision by screaming and slamming fists on the table. We need a planned, persistent work schedule and, if I may say so, also some shaking up.

[Grundulis] What is your attitude toward the various enterprises' "Report"?

[Misurkin] I disagree with such an approach. When they speak about the assistance to agriculture and food processing industry, some managers quite often find excuses in labor shortages. On the one hand, we understand them, but on the other hand, is it not a fact that their employees ask for more food products and a better selection? Therefore, on the contrary, they need to demonstrate more incentive on how to better and more purposefully assist our agriculture.

I want specifically to stress the issue of power engineering, because it is very important for both the industry and agriculture, in short, for all branches. It seems that the development of power engineering did not raise any problems for a long time, because we have to take into account the additional people, who have been added to the North-West power complex.

Today, we have had a decision not to expand the Ingalina AES, and the Leningradskaia and Karelskaia AES will be shut down for the scheduled repairs. Therefore, we are now facing a very difficult problem. This problem has two aspects, namely, in the nearest future we must develop a plan for limiting the electric power consumption and to accelerate the availability of an additional power capacity in the republic itself. For this purpose we must modernize the Riga TETs-1 and TETs-2, build the TETs-3, and to make a decision concerning the construction of a new GRES.

[Grundulis] In connection with this urgent situation, will not the construction of an AES in Latvia be necessary?

[Misurkin] I do not think that it is necessary. We must find other power sources.

[Grundulis] I said that beginning with 1990, the republic will work under full cost accounting conditions. There are still many unclear issues, in spite of the fact that economists from all three Baltic republics were searching very hard for the best economic model.

[Misurkin] At the present time, this main document has been prepared and the republics' Gosplan chairmen have approved it in Moscow. What is its main principle? Anything manufactured in the field of consumer goods will remain under the control of a republic. The enterprises subordinated to the All-Union ministries will have to pay revenues from their profits to the republic budget. They will have to pay for the territory, energy, and labor. It is too early to assess what the rates of this payment from profits will be, and in connection with it we expect a very difficult discussion.

Today, one of the most important tasks is the expansion of consumer goods production. Today, the volume of goods available in one or another republic, or region, depends on many factors, such as: how the USSR Gosplan divides the goods, which goods are manufactured by the All-Union enterprises, whether cooperatives are willing to sell their products in one, or another republic, and the size of the exchange fund available to a republic Ministry of Trade. After switching the economy to cost accounting, we will not be able to radically change the supply of the market with consumer goods until we will achieve a condition, when all products manufactured by the ministries, cooperatives, and All-Union enterprises will no longer be distributed only through a centralized republican wholesale organization. Today, goods, especially those manufactured by cooperatives, can be sold outside the republic without any restrictions, and large amounts of textiles and clothing are leaving the republic in spite of the fact that they should be sold here, at home. We complain at industrial enterprises that they do not manufacture sufficient volumes of certain products; however, we do not pay much attention to the fact that cooperatives buy up large volumes of goods and take them outside the republic. If we are speaking about the country as a whole, it is not bad, but full cost accounting is meant only for the residents of the republic. For them it is important what they can buy in stores, and they do not care one way or another, how many goods in million rubles were manufactured after the deductions.

There are many opportunities to manufacture additional consumer goods. For example, we should involve the All-Union and other enterprises more broadly in the production of furniture, because every factory has its own wood-working shop. Obviously, it is not mandatory to make wall units there, for example. We are short of simple shelves, stands, and kitchen furniture. Now, the enterprises are facing this task. I think that we will see the results of their work already after 3-4 months.

[Misurkin] We are thinking about and discussing the foreign economic ties a lot, because we are limited in hard currency necessary for buying new process equipment and other items. Unfortunately, our achievements

in this area are more than modest. Representatives of many enterprises travel abroad, see some things, learn some things but there are very few concrete results from these activities. Therefore, much depends on our ability to join, concentrate, and activate the forces of the enterprises, associations, and particular ministries, because our only foreign trade firm Interlatvija will not be able to do it for all. I want to stress that if we will not learn how to trade with the West, we will also not learn to assess the quality level of our own products. Our loud speeches about competitive products will be justified only when we will be asked to export them.

'Internationalism' of Interfront Congress Delegates Questioned

18080031 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
10 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by A. Pastalnieks: "The Other Side of the Problem"] txt

[Text] I will be witty and will not quote Lenin. As a man, who was studying in multiethnic surroundings and in practice, not in theory, felt what real internationalism and brotherhood of different peoples and countries are (and what the foundations of such relations are), I had only one question during the past congress, - namely, were these people real internationalists? I can rearrange this question and ask: who are these peoples' friends and why do they pretend to be internationalists?

However, it is difficult to dissociate ourselves from the speeches made during the congress, and from its tone and level of constructiveness, which, by the way, was anticipated so much... This congress had enough time for preparations.

The speech of the retired officer Dudnik was already assessed, so there is no reason to repeat its contents. However, the wariness, which the delegates expressed for the first time during this speech, caused some food for thought. The guest of the congress Viktors Alksnis reiterated this feeling. After mentioning two ways of fighting, he only had time to mention the first one, namely, "tooth for tooth", when a number of the delegates broke into applause...

Some more "inspiring" thoughts from the congress' lobby:

The Latvians have nothing to complain about.

Does it matter? If there would not be the People's Front, the Interfront would not exist either. If the Interfront had been formed first, the People's Front would emerge immediately after it.

When I do not have to wait in lines, when I have food and all the other necessities, only then will I study the Latvian language, and English and French...

A clear-cut nationalistic line is not a well-selling commodity for resolving the complicated problems of a non-monolithic society. Primitive, poorly understood internationalism is similarly unacceptable.

At the present time, when there are so many unclear problems and definitions, to usurp such laurels and to speak in the name of internationalism, especially at the civic activities' level; is not a serious thing to do.

Let us not deceive ourselves! Now we have two fronts in the republic. Both of them are formed on the bases of ethnic affiliation.

The People's Front Congress has examined one side of the problem. The internationalists in the all-mankind sense of this word should, at least at the minimum level, grasp the problem in its totality. The so-called Interfront could not do anything more than to look at the other side of the problem, thus causing doubts in its conformance to its name.

We must admit that the differences in opinions objectively exist in the republic. However, those who hear life only as a mono record should not lay claims for a stereo set.

PADOMJU JAUNATNE Criticizes Anti-Communist Protester

18080008 Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian
1 Dec 88 p 4

[Article by A. Sablovskis and a photograph of a man with a poster stating DO NOT TRUST A COMMUNIST (crossed over with a pen) by A. Liepins: "No Way!"]

[Text] We crossed out the photograph in order to express the unambiguous attitude of the editorial board toward this matter. We do not know the man's name yet. However, we think that his actions, purpose and goal are obvious. The photograph shows the poster he carried during the demonstration organized by the LPF [Latvian Popular Front] on 26 Nov 88. He managed (only for a short time) to attract the attention of the demonstration's participants. Some photographers were able to take pictures of the man.

Did this man come to support the LPF demonstration? It is possible that we may find the answer in the often repeated fact that J. Peters, D. Ivans, A. Kauls, V. Avotins and others are still CPSU members. Yes, indeed, what is the organization represented by this man? As it is known, the International Front being presently organized is also directly stressing the Party's leading role in perestroika.

It seems that during future events organized by the LPF or other officially registered organizations, they should form a special "police force", which would check for

slogans of this nature and would make notes of organizations, whose goals and attitudes toward the LPF and the perestroika processes in the country are unambiguously described by the texts of their posters.

And one more thing. If criminal charges were as speedily brought as in that well-known but sad case, what should be the reaction of the respective authorities in this situation?...

Although, as in the other case, the man with the realized his mistake after a discussion with the other demonstrators. This time it happened during the demonstration, rather than prior to it.

Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Roundtable on Interethnic, Center-Republic Relations
18000633 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
14 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by V. Skripov: "From Strong Republics to a Strong Union: Lithuanian SSR Roundtable on Problems of Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] As has already been reported in the newspapers, on 3 February a roundtable was conducted at Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences to discuss a broad circle of problems of interethnic relations, with the participation of the republic's social scientists, as well as those from Moscow, Riga, and Tallinn. Forming the basis of the discussion were the recommendations of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee to the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "Improving Interethnic Relations in the USSR." The following article is a brief report on the discussion that occurred.

Opening the meeting of scientists, S. Shimkus, rector of the Vilnius Higher Party School, reported that that school had been organized on the recommendation of the Academy of Social Sciences, under CPSU Central Committee, and that it is one of the links in preparing the party Plenum on the national question. Its goal is to establish the broadest possible spectrum of opinions on this series of problems and to develop concrete recommendations to be included in the restructuring program that will be developed at the Plenum.

The first to speak was professor V. Lazutka. He began his speech by posing the question: what goal are we setting for ourselves in the area that is being considered? Do we want to improve the system of national relations that has developed, or do we want to restructure it radically? This will also determine how we should choose the means and methods of resolving the matter. There are also a rather large number of reserves with regard to improvement, because a rather large number of distortions were allowed to occur in the national question. However, are we satisfied to take the path of eliminating only the most

obvious distortions? No, we are not, and the Lithuanian CP Central Committee poses the question of the radical restructuring of the entire system of interethnic relations.

The documents of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, V. Lazutka noted, also raise the question of changing the status of the Communist Party: its functions and its interrelations with other public organizations. Some people, however, ask the question: is it possible to change something that does not yet exist, having in mind the limited independence of the republic's party organization. Apparently both these questions should be resolved simultaneously, but at such time it is necessary to rebuff those who, to the accompaniment of the noise about the republic status of the Communist Party, are pursuing the goal of depriving it of its guiding role.

We are living in a period of the degradation of socialism. I. Antonovich, prorector for scientific work, Academy of Social Sciences, under CPSU Central Committee, stated in his report. But despite all the sharpness of the situation, one should not fear this formulation, inasmuch as degradation does not mean the end of the system. It only attests to the fact that the system has a serious, but curable, illness. We sometimes do not think that a break with our past will be too painful. But probably the most unexpected thing in perestroika proved for us to be the outburst of interethnic problems. Unexpected, since we had felt that everything in this question was in order.

That is why, he said, that we have to analyze the reasons for this outburst and to define a constructive program of actions. Nor should we forget the fact that it is not only in our country, but also in many countries throughout the world, that the problems of national relations have become more acute in recent decades. This attests to the fact that, in addition to the internal reasons, there are also some kind of overall natural laws governing the world process of the development of national self-awareness.

Today, he continued, a large number of questions in the sphere of national development have accumulated. What will the outlook of republic self-government be? What will the new federal structure be? o what limits is it possible and advisable to have an administrative division that grants autonomy to small nations? And there are many other questions. It is important at such time to find some common principles that are identically applicable for all nationalities, which would become constitutional principles for the entire Union. The author noted that there are no ready-made solutions, but he would like to make a number of comments.

In particular, dealing with the question of the national language. In no country is there an official record of the status of any language as a state language. The fact that the Russian language has become the language of communication among nationalities is explained by a number of reasons, in particular by the intensive migration of

the population. In Vilnius, more and more signs are appearing in a certain language: what are newcomers supposed to do? If one raises the question of the observance of the national rights that were stipulated by the Declaration of the Protection of Human Rights, there must be superscriptions in the languages of all the principal nations inhabiting the republic. In addition, experience shows that categorical laws are poorly executable.

The speaker touched upon an important procedural problem: how to guarantee equal attention to the questions raised by any nation, irrespective of the size of that nation. Obviously, such questions cannot be resolved by majority opinion. What is needed is another technology—the democracy of assent. These and other questions await their resolution, and the Academy of Social Sciences is ready to listen to any proposals.

In his brief report **Ch. Kudaba**, chairman of the Lithuanian Cultural Foundation, discussed the increased rate of activity among various national communities in the republic, where, during a short period of time, cultural clubs and centers have appeared for Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Jews, Ukrainians, Karaims, etc. For example, the Karaim language is already being studied in four groups. Ch. Kudaba remarked that the actions being taken by these new organizations need material support, which could be rendered by major enterprises and organizations.

Then **R. Ozolas**, council member of the Sajudis Diet and candidate of philosophical sciences, took the floor. Objecting to statements made by I. Antonovich, he said that many of the problems that he had enumerated evolve from obsolete mental stereotypes.

The conflict between the center and the republics, R. Ozolas stated, is the result of the lack of any state system among the latter. When that state system appears, many symptoms of tension will disappear. The right to have a state system is the natural right of a nation, the expression of its social mind. And the very posing of the question of the possibility of resolving national questions from the center is, by its very nature, imperial.

Characterizing the interethnic conflicts, R. Ozolas remarked that lying at their basis is the lack of desire on the part of representatives of the national minorities to adapt to the social and cultural environment of the republic. There has even been an attempt to cause a confrontation in the form of creating organizations of the Unity type, the activity of which, in my opinion, hinders state construction in Lithuania.

If we do not separate the concepts of state and nation, the speaker concluded, many problems will disappear. The question must be raised in this manner: if a nation has grown to the point of understanding the need for its own state system, then it must have it.

G. Sootla, deputy chief of the Ideological Department, Estonian CP Central Committee, began his statement by discussing the question of republic sovereignty. It is generally felt that, if there is a strong center, the republics will also be strong. However, this is a delusion. The formula must be turned around. A healthy economy is based, as it were, in reverse—on the healthy budget of the family, the rayon, the republic. Hence the slogan: strong republics make a strong union.

Another question that is worthy of attention is the question of developing horizontal relations among the republics. Why is it that all the ties among them must invariably be channeled through union departments acting as mediators? It is necessary to create a larger number of various interrepublic associations, officially empowered agencies, etc. And it is necessary finally to analyze the question of what the center actually is. Actually, in our country, it is equated with the RSFSR. Incidentally, Russia itself suffers from that and is unaware of its own status. Among the Russians the question of national self-awareness and culture is probably even more acute than among Estonians and Lithuanians.

We Baltic republics want to carry out the perestroika according to our own recipe, and this most often causes a negative reaction outside the confines of our region. Nationalism immediately rears its head. And yet this is an objective process. The fact of the matter is that, on the territory of our Union, the administrative system actually gave birth to sociocultural areas that differ substantially from one another. The author includes in the first area the Slavic territories (the Nonchernozem Zone, Siberia, etc.). At the basis of its formation lies the destruction of the primordial, base forms of national integration, as a result of which there was a breaking away from the roots of the culture. The second area is made up of the Central Asian republics and part of the trans-Caucasus. Here, under the conditions of Stalinism, the archaic semifeudal relations not only did not disappear, but actually took on their own stable modernized forms. And, finally, the third area is the Baltic area, which is characterized by the strong influence of European traditions. A specific feature of this area is the latent thirst for a state system, a thirst that has been influenced by a prolonged period of political oppression on the part of neighboring countries. That is what democracy, and perestroika itself, in the Baltic republics is perceived primarily on the basis of the steps that are being taken toward intensifying national sovereignty.

Touching upon the question of language, G. Sootla pointed out the overall shortage of laws that have been created to deal with this question. Specifically, the legislators have been concentrating their attention on the meaningful aspect, on various procedural nuances, whereas what is needed currently is the political resolution of the problem. And that resolution lies in assuring that there will be infringement on the interests of any

nation. In order to regular the specific ways to implement the law, it will take time—perhaps 15 years or so. The Estonian version of the law is good in that, in its rather abstract form, it satisfies more or less both the Estonians and the Russians.

The economic aspects of national sovereignty were the topic of the statement made by Professor K. Prunskene, director of the Institute of Refresher Courses for Specialists in the Lithuanian SSR National Economy. A very important right exercised by the republic is the opportunity to be in charge of its own territory. But in our country even the agricultural policy is determined by the center. Could the reason for the low harvest rate in the Ukraine be that the crop structure is dictated by the country's agroindustry? K. Prunskene said that during a trip to FRG [Federal Republic of Germany—West Germany] she had been especially struck by the level of the economic and cultural independence of the individual states in Germany. Various departments have been created specifically there, and those departments decide all the questions locally.

V. Pokormiyak, assistant professor at VPSH [Higher Party School], began by stating that if we are a union of sovereign states, then it cannot contain any "younger" or "older" brothers. The center must direct the country like an orchestra conductor, without allowing the individual sound of the instruments from getting lost. Actually it has gathered together absolutely everything conceivable, and dictates everything, down to and including cake recipes.

An ignoble role in questions of regulating the interethnic relations is played by our statistics agencies, the speaker stated. If one believes the official information, it turns out that only two republics—Armenia and Azerbaijan—live by relying on their own efforts; all the others consume more than they produce. But that is absolutely absurd! Distorted statistics pour fuel on various kinds of gossip and rumors relative to the "dependent status" of individual republics, including the Baltic republics, and prevents people from making a realistic evaluation of the contribution made by each of them.

Professor Ya. Minkyavichyus, council member of the Sajudis Diet, and corresponding member of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, devoted his statement to the philosophical and ethical substantiation of a nation's right to sovereignty. The very words "ethnos" and "demos" ("people," "nation") are etymologically derived from the category "to be born." This symbolizes the substantial value of man and the nation.

A nation needs a "body," and not only in the sense of land, mineral resources, etc., but also through the assimilation of all this by the culture, art, and moral norms of the people. And that "body" belongs not to ministries, but to the people.

The slogan that goes back to the period of stagnation—"The Soviet people is a new ethnic community"—is an absurdity. It is a hybrid of nature and of politics. In exactly the same way, there is no special internationalism that is authentic to socialism. Are we really to believe that the internationalism of Mother Teresa or the British rescue teams in Armenia is of a different variety? Actually, this is the normal, ethical principle in the people. That is why I adhere to the ancient principles of the "natural right" in relations of this kind.

We are living in a period of national rebirth, the professor concluded, and we also wish that for the Russian people.

The necessity of resurrecting and attentively reading the Leninist heritage on the national question was mentioned in his statement by L. Drybin, sector head, Institute of Party History, under the Lithuanian CP Central Committee. It is necessary to formulate precisely for the public the basic trends in perestroika in the sphere of national relations, namely:

- there is a need for a new union treaty that would define precisely the rights of the republic and the rights that are delegated to the center;
- there has been a determination of the trends and proportions in the economic development of the republics, which trends and proportions guarantee the intensive paths of development. (Are we really supposed to consider to be normal when, for example, cotton is processed in the Baltic republics, rather than in Tajikistan, where it is produced?);
- and, finally, the conditions for the sovereign development of the national culture. Incidentally, V. I. Lenin spoke out against national-cultural autonomy within the party, but he never spoke out against such in the regions.

Alas, L. Drybin remarked, we read none of this in the recently published teaching aid of the national question, which smells so strongly of mothballs.

We have had the opportunity to participate in a unique historical experiment, author V. Chepaytis, council member of the Sajudis Diet, said—an experiment in which peoples with different historical and cultural traditions have been forcibly united in the same pot. The purpose of this "union" was the creation of a large state at the price of the disappearance of individual cultures. In this state there was supposed to appear a new nation in the future—the "Soviet nation." What did that lead to? First of all, the Russian nation suffered, because it believed that myth. The "new nation" was created not only the basis of Russian culture, but was created from several stereotypical fragments of Russian and other cultures. The degradation of society began everywhere.

The path that we have chosen today, the path of the rule-of-law state, requires bold and cardinal measures. The republics themselves must decide what will be the nature of the ties between them and the center. Today, when preparing for the Plenum on the national question, thousands of people have been sending their recommendations to the Central Committee, but the impression is being created that the center is attempting once again to produce some kind of general-purpose recipe. We participated in a unique experiment, but now the time has come to analyze its results carefully so that we do not share the fate of the Roman empire.

The fate of the Jewish nation in Lithuania and the problems of developing its culture today were discussed by Ye. Yatsovskis, a participant in the revolutionary movement in Lithuania. He stated, in particular, that it was only Stalin's death that saved the Jews from being resettled from the Baltic republics, since the order to prepare the means of transportation had already been issued.

V. Bolshakov, assistant professor at VPSH, spoke about the high feelings of responsibility and political tact that the current development of events requires of the citizens, primarily the workers on the ideological front in the Baltic republics. One should not pull phrases out of context, one should not make poorly thought-out generalizations.

The resolution of the national question is also considerably harmed by the stereotypes of behavior that continue to exist in the center. The director of the Institute of Economics in Chelyabinsk, for example, gives a statement and, without having even the slightest idea of the events in the Baltic republics, "censures" them and instructs them on "how they ought to behave."

Touching upon the question of language, V. Bolshakov pointed out that the situation is unsatisfactory with regard to the republic's being given material-technical, pedagogical, and other support when preparing for the law that was enacted. Persons who are keenly interested must prepare elementary glossaries themselves in order to provide them to workers at enterprises.

Professor V. Lyutikas was a participant at the All-Union Congress of Teachers. He reported how that measure was carried out in what he considered to be a stuffy atmosphere. The Moscow delegation and the representatives of the public education agencies did everything to assure that the concept of the national school was not mentioned at the congress. The very procedures of the sessions were used by them in such a way as to prevent the adherents of school renovation from making any statements, and to remove questions from discussion. It was only the active support provided by the second secretary of the party's Leningrad Obkom that prevented the disruption of the statement being made by the

delegate from Lithuania. In the final analysis, the resolution that had been adopted by the congress was falsified when it was published; it failed to include six paragraphs for which the delegates had voted. This unceremonious and disrespectful attitude shown by the Moscow delegation demonstrated the typical methods used by the administrative system.

The statement by professor Y. Anichas was devoted to such an aspect of national policy as the attitude toward religion. Giving several examples from the history of this question in Lithuania, and discussing the gross violations of believers' rights that occurred in the past, he issued the urgent appeal, without waiting for the publication of a union-wide document, to the republic's scientists to begin preparing a republic law governing the freedom of conscience.

A. Goris, department head at VPSH, and candidate of historical sciences, having analyzed the development of the events of the past two years, came to the conclusion that the party organizations of the Baltic republics were not immediately able to occupy an active position in them. The changing of tactics without any serious or publicly announced analysis of the reasons for their own mistakes, or a well-argued evaluation of the situation, gives rise to confusion among the Communist Party members who yesterday were given the responsibility for doing one thing, and today are given the responsibility for doing something else. The responsibility of diagnosing the situation and making constructive suggestions has been assumed by the intelligentsia. The tasks of the Communist Party members is to restore the lost positions. The lack of any clear-cut political evaluation of the situation is leading to a point where one can discern in the party the symptoms of a line of demarcation on the basis of nationality. There is a critical need to create a serious scientific center to study the national relations.

Professor A. Gayzhutis, deputy director of the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology, and Law, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, mentioned the need to search for new forms and new content for those relations in the area of politics, economics, and culture that have not proven their worth. By way of an example he cited the appearance in Lithuania of various clubs and centers, of the cultural-community type, which have been exerting a positive effect both on the development of the national traditions of individual nations, and on the overall atmosphere in the republic. This process is dialectical, the professor feels: the more deeply a nation becomes aware of itself, the more understanding its attitude is toward the problems of another nation.

A part of A. Gayzhutis' statement was devoted to the so-called "migrants"—persons who frequently change their place of residence and who have no ties to any definite cultural community. These people live as surrogates of culture, as a so-called "mass culture." It is necessary to help them. That is why a slogan that is used today in the national question is so pertinent: "Return

home." But it is intended not in the sense of returning to any particular territory, but, rather, in the sense of assimilating the deeply underlying cultural strata of one's own nation. Because "cosmopolitan" culture leads to an increase in the fund of mass culture.

P. Timofeyev, professor at the Academy of Social Sciences, under CPSU Central Committee, noted in his statement that participation in this discussion had considerably increased his understanding of the essence of the programs presented by the people's fronts in the Baltic republics. Characterizing the aggravation of the interethnic problems, he mentioned as the main reason for this phenomenon the oversimplified approach when forming a national policy. The country used to have several sociocultural ways of life in existence, and they all proved to be under the effect of one and the same methods of administration.

P. Timofeyev, in particular, touched upon the question of determining the nationality to which a person belongs. In 1872, he reminded his audience, there was an international statistical congress in Saint Petersburg, at which it was decided that a person's nationality was to be established on the basis of a questionnaire and that it should reflect the self-awareness of the person, who was supposed to be free to choose his own nationality. Obviously, this principle ought to be adhered to today also.

Professor E. Yanchauskas, department head at the Vilnius VPSH, said that he was indignant at certain speculations being made by the mass information media. Recently, for example, "Mayak" [Beacon] transmitted commentary on the publishing of the Law Governing Language, in which it was stated that V. I. Lenin was opposed to the status of a state language, and that that status had been dragged in and invented by Stalin and Beria and then introduced in Georgia, in order to eradicate other languages. This kind of statement should be given a decisive rebuff.

E. Yanchauskas supported the idea of refining the status of the Lithuanian Communist Party. He feels that the circumstances and conditions for its entry into the VKP(b) in 1940 have not been completely ascertained, and that sooner or later this question will arise.

K. L. Valanchas, authorized representative of the Council on Religious Affairs for Lithuanian SSR, under USSR Council of Ministers, in his statement accentuated the idea that, as of today, no solid legislative guarantees for been created for republic sovereignty, and, at the same time, an attempt is being made to conspire against that attempt. This is discussed in a roundabout manner, but one continues to note in the subtext the opinion that all the problems will be resolved by the "good guys" at the top. Are we really supposed to consider it to be a normal phenomenon when the central commissions even verify how the native language is being taught in Lithuanian schools, and when it is impossible to register a religious congregation in the rayon without informing Moscow?

Professor S. Shimkus characterized the process of changes occurring in the Baltic republics as the intellectual explosion of society. And, naturally, whenever there is an explosion, people are injured. The people who proved to be such first of all were the bureaucratic segments, including those in the party. **S. Shimkus** feels that the recently published documents of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee that issue an appeal to the nation are an important landmark on the path to uniting the healthy forces of society, a unification that promotes the stabilization of the situation in the republic. The striving for the unity of the nation and of leadership reflects the striving for self-government, and it is precisely in this way that one should understand the slogan, "The plans of the nation are the party's plans."

In this situation, **S. Shimkus** continued, any pressure from the outside is unacceptable. The lessons of September 1988 (the events on Ploshchad Gediminas) indicated that a demonstration of force today is doomed to failure and results in heavy, unforeseeable consequences. The mass information media in the center should follow more closely the events and moods in the Baltic republics and should give more carefully weighed and more objective evaluations. For the time being, they have been obviously tendentious quite frequently.

It would appear that the country's public opinion today needs to have the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government make statements precisely outlining their position with regard to a broad group of questions linked with the phenomenon of Stalinism. It is also necessary to publish in the central publications the most important documents pertaining to foreign and domestic policy of those periods which have been the subject of a large number of rumors and disputes (the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, etc.).

Characterizing the changes that have recently occurred, **G. Kirkilas**, sector chief at the Ideological Department, Lithuanian CP Central Committee, gave the following example: about seven years ago the name currently well-known name "Sajudis" was borne by a small sobriety club. That club, incidentally, was persecuted at that time because the fight for sobriety during those years was perceived practically as sedition.

It is time to change the attitude taken by the central agencies to the republics. Our mass information media have been receiving many complaints on the part of various commissions. But wouldn't it be more correct in such instances to enter into an open dialogue without resorting to attempts to administer by fiat?

For a long time we have relied too much upon ideology and have completely neglected the economy. Today the relationship between them must change, since one does not compensate for the omissions in the other. When participating in the election, the party cannot fail to take into consideration the everyday interests of the nation. And herein lies a situation that is new for us.

In his closing remarks, Professor I. Antonovich thanked the participants in the discussion for their frank and interesting exchange of opinions. He expressed the hope that the scientists and public figures in the Baltic republics would be able to make a major contribution to developing the new concept of interethnic relations. He was greatly impressed, he said, by the formula that had been developed here: "From strong republics to a strong Union." That formula reflects the integrated political philosophy of the entire region and it deserves the most attentive analysis.

**Journal Advocates New Constitution Guarantee
Lithuanian Sovereignty**

18000602 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 25 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Declaration by editorial board and editorial staff of journal KULTUROS BARAI: "The Path Toward Sovereignty"]

[Text] Declaration by the editorial board and editorial staff of the journal KULTUROS BARAI, published in its first issue of 1989, signed by KULTUROS BARAI Chief Editor V. Khadzavichyus and other employees of the publication; People's Artist of the USSR R. Adomaitis; A. Eydintas, candidate of historical sciences; musicologist R. Gaydamavichyute; R. Kibildis, LiSSR deputy minister of culture; N. Kitkauskas, candidate of architecture; Ch. Kudaba, professor and doctor of geographical sciences; sculptor S. Kuzma; art critic V. Lyutkus; drama specialist I. Lozoraitis; I. Minkyavichyus, professor and doctor of philosophical sciences; People's Architect of the USSR A. Nasvitis; People's Artist of the USSR S. Sondetskis; K. Stoshkus, candidate of philosophical sciences; Academician E. Vilkas; and A. Zalatoryus, doctor of philosophical sciences.

Dear fellow countrymen and all patriots of our native Lithuania!

Our life has been filled with important events. For the first time in many years we can say out loud what we think; defend our convictions; freely discuss and debate not only technology and the laws of nature, but social justice, democracy and religion; clarify the history of our native land; study its current status; and take part in actions to defend the sovereignty of Lithuania. We are beginning to restore human and national dignity. We are gradually changing into "persons for ourselves." We are humiliated by the status of a slave labor force imposed on us, a suppliant waiting for charity or a boon from others' hands, especially as they are dividing the wealth which we have earned. By going out into the streets in a body, singing the songs that have been banned for decades in the squares, and by advancing slogans dictated by life itself, we are experiencing a sense of national solidarity unfamiliar to us before. We are delivering such impassioned and bold speeches at meetings that even the audience is alerted: if this is not a dream, why doesn't anyone stop it?

Civil and human rights are being restored to guiltless exiles and memorials are being created for the victims of Stalinism. We have restored the traditional symbolism, the national anthem, and the state status of the Lithuanian language; a national school is being organized, Lithuania's national Olympic committee is being restored, and the churches that once were turned into warehouses, museums and concert halls are returning to their true owners. The highest authorities that formerly condemned the priesthood and repudiated religious morality are extending their hand in cooperation today and calling upon us to struggle together for peace, for the future of the Lithuanian people, and against alcoholism and against moral degradation.

We have finally dared to demand that each nation have the natural right to live its own life, to be responsible for it, and to preserve the natural environment and cultural and historical monuments.

A great deal has been accomplished in a brief period of time. However, we should not give in to thoughtless euphoria and intoxication from the quick successes. After all, this is only the beginning of a difficult path. We still have no guarantees that what we possess will be maintained. All the immense forces of absolutist centralism—economic, political, ideological, pseudoscientific, military, and so forth—are operating as before. A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR did not even manage to pass a law protecting the republic from the willfulness of central institutions. We feel the bitter taste of defeat. Now each person must determine who permitted which mistakes. Unfortunately, each person has looked for irregularities only in the actions of his opponents thus far. Can we really find a common language this way? Does this really show political wisdom? Wisdom is wariness, readiness for all kinds of surprises, foresight. A wise person does not rejoice too much after winning a victory because he knows there will be defeats as well. After suffering defeat, he does not blame everyone for this, but he hastens to find out what he did not do so that similar mistakes are not repeated in the future.

We have yearned for pluralism and the freedom of opinion for many years. And now we cannot cope with this. Let us not compel everyone to think the same; let us learn to understand each other and to try to reach common goals. And there is much that unites us. We all agree that Lithuania has no future without sovereignty. A step or two more by the centralists and there will be nothing to protect. However, our views differ on the basis of sovereignty and how we should achieve it. What tactic should we adhere to? Radical and liberal trends have been established. Such trends are apparent even within ("Sayudis"). This is natural. No political movement is possible without them. Only through alternatives can we ensure the flexibility of an organized political movement and its ability to take the changing conditions of life into account. But a vast amount of tolerance is needed in such conditions, a sense of responsibility, the

skill of moving to reasonable compromises and agreements without losing sight of the common goals for an instant. If this does not exist, there will be irritability, malice, petty conflicts, shallow ambitions, and vindictiveness. Persons are not enhanced by such manifestations, and in politics (especially under the present conditions), they may prove to be disastrous. There are strong conservative and even reactionary forces which delight in provoking and encouraging such differences and expect them. Do our people really need this now? Let us remember the words uttered 100 years ago by V. Kudirka with respect to the Lithuanian intelligentsia of that time. V. Kudirka compared them to small children in the country who are building a house out of sticks together: "If a stick turns out to be rejected or too short or crooked, the child immediately begins crying, becomes angry, and finally destroys his work, saying: here you are, if I cannot have it, you won't have it!"

Like small children, we are beginning to argue who is directing the restructuring, who is contributing to it and encouraging it more than others. The good will of the party? M. Gorbachev? The republic authorities? The Catholic Church? ("Sayudis")? Perhaps the Estonian example? Let us not look for unequivocal answers, and let us not rush to be the first to go down in history. It will be much wiser and less pretentious if it judges us itself. We are all witnesses to the failure of the Stalinist model of socialism and we have been waiting for the chance to be included in the building of a more humane, democratic and just society. There is no question that not everyone is equally active and not everyone has enough forces. But this is not the affair of one or two persons or some individual organization. We should rely on each other and provide incentive to each other, especially those who have not had the courage to take part in public life until now. The most reliable support is from persons who never bargained with their convictions and still managed to remain consistent and keep their truth. All the spiritual resources and all the intellectual forces should be activated; we must unite them to build an active society. Lithuania's fate depends on the extent to which we are able to rally together. We are faced with fostering a political culture. Neither the representatives of the government nor the public movements have enough of it. After all, central institutions handled all our affairs for so many years. We have been just the ones who executed their orders and directives. Where would we have learned political culture without engaging in political activity independently? And here over a short period of time nearly all of us are suddenly taking part in politics: we create a Constitution, we propose laws, we criticize the old election system, we begin new elections, we proclaim political actions, we conduct meetings, we make political statements, and so forth. The first lessons show what we are lacking. Real responsibility, moral consistency and self-criticism should attest to our political maturity.

We do not have enough cultural wholeness, understanding of its historical nature, and coordination among its most important areas—morality, art and science. We

lack culture in appearances and contacts (especially between nations). We are just beginning to understand the disastrous threat of the lack of economic culture.

The time has come to evaluate all the areas in which culture and the level of culture are manifested in accordance with the highest criteria of humanism.

Union and local reactionary forces are attempting, and undoubtedly will continue trying in the future, to accuse us of various sins. But there is no point in justifying the fact that we want to return the inalienable rights of a nation to ourselves and in concealing from anyone the confidence of our people that

—our land is ours alone;

—Lithuanians, together with the representatives of other nationalities living in our land and other peoples of the world, have the right to a sovereign state;

—the nation has the right to increase its forces independently on the basis of a sovereign economic, social, cultural, democratic and ecological policy;

—the nation alone can determine which union with other nations is acceptable.

All this must be secured in Lithuania's new constitution.

Greens Protest Action, Ecological Concerns Discussed

18000739 Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by B. Vaynauskene: "While Heeding the Fear..."]

[Text] I have already described a discussion of the first stage of the action by "the greens" at the Agroprom briefly in the weekly GIMTASIS KRASTAS. This was long ago, but I would like to discharge my mind completely, recall the action "Greens at the Agroprom" once again, and look into the note pads I filled out several years ago.

The two interested parties were not the only ones to prepare for the action "Greens at the Agroprom"; shops and canteens revised their orders... The efforts of the "greens" did not go unnoticed: the appeals not to buy dairy products and picket announcements were hanging on the walls of virtually all offices of Vilnius. The rumor to the effect that they were going to make butter from the milk not sold, and sell it successfully in Latvia made the rounds in Vilnius. Some regretted that the protests would not be significant until the officials responsible and the milkmaids suffer personally. Others argued: we should not strive to make the farmers go bankrupt, the main point is to give them a scare.

People say that fear is a bad adviser. However, the results of the action show otherwise. In-house inspectors of the Agroindustrial Committee, inspectors of standards, disease control medics who examined the purity of foodstuffs with particular care at that time came to the conclusion that the quality of both milk and dairy products improved considerably. The result was achieved without new equipment or technologies, only due to fear. Such is the culture of our farmers and employees of food processing: professional integrity appears only out of fear! It means that the "greens" will have to carry on the first tour—pickets, boycotts, protests—for quite a while...

It is a pity that there were no additional observations during the action. However, when discussing it, some people recalled what they had heard from their physician friends: at the time, the number of poisonings went down appreciably... I think that it could be worthwhile to film the crying of babies poisoned by bad milk, and show it to the milkmaids, farm chiefs, the men and women who wash the bottles at the dairy combines, as well as the gentlemen who pour into the communal pot the milk of cows sick with mastitis knowing that it will be drunk by babies, and those who supervise them. Let them have pangs of conscience! Why am I so merciless? Because I have learned from disease control physicians: in summer, dishonest people pour detergents and chlorinated lime into milk so that it won't spoil longer. Unfortunately, medical services do not yet have the equipment sensitive enough to register a small amount of chemicals. I have heard village women complain that the milk of their cows, pure and filtered, is poured at procurement facilities into huge vessels the surface of which is black with flies. Personally, I happened to be at a sugar refinery during an accident of local importance. Several tons of sugar beet juice welled up from the kettles. I asked the director about who was going to cover the loss. He was surprised. He said that there would be no losses: everything will be pumped back into the kettles from the floor. We were standing in this sweet pool in dirty shoes, and cigarette butts were all over. Dig in, our dear consumers!

I am convinced that professional integrity, and the need for progressive management cannot be inculcated through economic measures alone because the market of agricultural products in the Soviet Union has been hopelessly barren thus far (if we will not buy milk, it will be drunk or sold someplace else). To be sure, there is a system of economic incentives which may also yield good results provided real objectivity is shown. The "greens" suggest that procurement prices for foodstuffs be differentiated based on the content of harmful substances in them. A representative of the Agroindustrial Committee who took part in discussing the action informed us that he is in favor of this idea. In addition, the Agroindustrial Committee is promising to manufacture, with its funds, a good number of control devices for carrying out tests of milk quickly and precisely, and determining the contamination of vegetables and fruit. The representative said that a decision had been made to

use food dyes for milk which is not in compliance with medical norms, so that resourceful suppliers would not bring it to the procurement stations yet again having watered it down with fresh milk.

The representative of the Agroindustrial Committee complained that managers of farms were not happy with stricter quality control, and it was quite likely that investigations may have to be made into some measures of control.

We are ready to publicize it all and support the party which will fight for our food and foodstuffs to be healthy rather than for its peaceful existence.

With support from the ecological movement of the public, the republic center of disease control has managed to push through new sanitary norms of admissible nitrate content in vegetables which are considerably more strict. The new document took effect on 1 January 1989. The "greens" decided to continue their struggle for banning the aerial spraying with pesticides not only in the ecologically disturbed areas but over the entire territory of Latvia. They advance the concept of providing incentives for producing high-quality fertilizer, and banning the pesticides altogether at a later time because technologies guaranteeing high yields without the use of harmful chemicals have already been developed in the world. Diplomatic efforts are going to be needed for this. Scientists, disease control physicians, quality control technicians at food processing enterprises should become the allies of the "greens." At the same time, we may have to keep our due distance so that the state control would feel that it is subordinated to the truly people's control, and not the kind that authoritatively "applies pressure from on high."

UkSSR Legal Official Defends Sanctions Against Public Meetings

18110056a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 21 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by M. O. Potebenko, first deputy public procurator of the Ukrainian SSR: "Once Again About Freedom of Assembly and Rule of Law"]

[Text] M. O. Potebenko, first deputy public prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, comments on responses to his interview with a RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent which appeared in the 9 December 1988 issue of RADYANSKA UKRAYINA under the title "Freedom of Assembly and Rule of Law."

Responses to the article attest to the great deal of interest on the part of this newspaper's readers in those processes which are presently taking place in our society. Some support the law which regulates the holding of public gatherings, including mass meetings, while others oppose this law. In particular, I. Kovalchuk from Khmelnytskyi Oblast (his letter was published on 7 January) suggests that the law spell out in specific terms exactly what is

permitted and what is prohibited, so that rayon officials, who determine the resolution of many questions locally, are clear on this. He has in mind first and foremost the rayon soviet executive committee.

They say that there are as many opinions as there are people. But the law is the law, and nobody is permitted to break the law. But the law in question is quite new—it has been in effect only for six months. But one can already make a certain analysis of its effect.

First of all I want to emphasize that this law is not about prohibiting mass meetings, as some people think, but on the contrary, it is about permitting mass meetings, but while observing the proper order and procedure, for in giving permission to conduct such an activity, a given soviet executive committee is concerned with creating the necessary conditions for this, with the safety of its participants, other citizens, and with public order in general. One therefore should not view this law as one which primarily restricts and prohibits. It is a large step in the direction of further development of democracy.

Wherever those who wish to hold a gathering or mass meeting apply to the appropriate executive committee promptly and following the prescribed procedure, and whose aims are not in conflict with the interests of the state and society, about which the law is quite specific, no misunderstandings will arise. We are witness today to many such events: meetings dedicated to preserving and increasing our country's cultural riches, to environmental protection, to development of public activeness in solving social problems, etc. This is a normal phenomenon which is grounded on right and law. All of us should help further this process.

But this law must be utilized in a conscientious manner, without distorting it and without using it only to the advantage of certain people. While aware of the positive goals in this movement, we must be able to differentiate them from extremism and anarchism, as well as from views and actions which are hostile to us, firmly assessing these aims. For this reason prohibiting a mass meeting should not be interpreted one-sidedly as suppression of democracy. One should first of all determine the extent to which the aims of a given mass meeting are in conformity with the requirements of the law. In addition, an executive committee must respond to a request not later than five days prior to the time an event is to be held, as stated in the request. This, in case the request is turned down, makes it possible to appeal to a higher executive and administrative body in the manner and procedure specified by law. Thus truth will always prevail.

One should not draw hasty, emotional conclusions, as did writer Yu. Shcherbak, who accused the Kiev City Executive Committee of illegally forbidding the holding

of a mass meeting, including a personal accusation against executive committee chairman V. A. Zhurskyy. Incidentally, V. A. Zhurskyy was not even in Kiev at the time.

It is understandable: those who have not been permitted to hold public gatherings and mass meetings are left sitting there with their own counsel, as they say, and are not happy about it. But the law is for the benefit of all, serves everybody and protects everybody with equal force.

Therefore, returning to the published interview in question, I should like once again to draw the attention of all citizens to the necessity of unswerving observance of the law and to emphasize that without discipline, organization, and responsibility there can be no perestroika or state governed by rule of law. All of us must always bear this in mind. As for law enforcement agencies, they have guarded in the past and will continue in the future guarding socialist legal order and rule of law. And there can be no compromise in this.

Ukrainian Rights Activists, Radio Liberty Blasted
18110064a Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in
Ukrainian 8 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by M. Zayarnyy: "In the Guise of a Defender of Rights"]

[Text] The 1 February issue of CHORNOMORSKA KOMUNA contains a brief account of the most recent meeting of the Odessa City Society for the Ukrainian Language and Culture imeni T. H. Shevchenko. The article also mentions Vasyl Volodymyrovych Barladyanu, who had spoken at a previous meeting and whose defense has been taken up by Radio Liberty.

But this brief news item was patently insufficient for the general readership, for they naturally had certain questions: just who is this Vasyl Barladyanu, what is his relationship to the Society imeni T. H. Shevchenko, just what is he defending in the final analysis, and what is he trying to achieve? We shall endeavor to answer these questions.

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Recently the name of Odessa "rights advocate" Vasyl Barladyanu has been mentioned with increasing frequency on Radio Liberty broadcasts, which Soviet citizens can freely listen to at the present time. He is identified as one of the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, who, together with its founders—Lvov residents Mykhaylo Goryn, Vyacheslav Chornovol, and others—is "fighting" to defend the national rights of the Ukrainian people, its language, and the establishment of a sovereign republic. But in mid-December a Radio Liberty broadcast informed Odessans about an "extended" agenda presented by Barladyanu at a meeting of the Society imeni T. H. Shevchenko held at the

Odessa Ukrainian Dramatic Theater. To present a detailed account of this meeting, Radio Liberty made use of materials from UKRAYINSKY VISTNYK, which is published in Lvov by the above-named Ukrainian rights activists.

Barladyanu demanded the following: general Ukrainianization of the indigenous population, unconditional eradication of the Russian language from daily personal and business use, and complete autonomy from Moscow. As for Russians, asserts Barladyanu, since they are merely an ethnic minority in our city on the Black Sea coast, they should be fully Ukrainianized. As for Moldavians, Jews, Bulgarians, Gagauz, and other ethnic groups (and there are more than 100 ethnic groups in Odessa Oblast), he proposes a single solution for them—that they use Ukrainian to communicate with one another.

This is Barladyanu's political platform, which he openly advocates. Now let us candidly state who this Barladyanu is.

He was born in the war year 1942 in the village of Shipka, in Grigoriopolskiy Rayon, Moldavia. After graduating from secondary school, he enrolled in the faculty of Russian philology at Odessa State University imeni I. I. Mechnikov, from which, to quote his own words, "I had the misfortune to graduate with distinction."

We should state at the outset that nobody placed any barriers in the path of this capable student due to his father's past history (he was convicted by a military tribunal in 1944 for collaboration with the occupation forces). Vasyl was given the opportunity to work on his dissertation, and to engage in teaching and dissemination of Ukrainian history and art. He joined the Communist Party.

It would seem that everything was going well. In March 1977, however, criminal charges were brought against Barladyanu under Article 187-1 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code, for continuing and persistent dissemination of slanderous lies about the Soviet system, nationalities policy, and activities of the Soviet Government. V. Barladyanu also castigated Soviet rule on the pages of anti-Soviet publications abroad. In these publications he wrote in particular that Lenin had created an "organization of jailers," that "the Kremlin is plundering the Ukraine," that it was appropriating billions of pounds of grain from the Ukrainian people, and he claimed that the "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia," written by Lenin, had opened up a "new and most dreadful page in the history of colonization," and that Soviet rule had been established in the Ukraine at the point of Russian bayonets. While claiming respect for the individual, this defender of Ukrainian rights heaps insult and offense upon others.

We should note that Barladyanu considers it his duty to fight not only for the rights of the Ukrainian people but also for the population of the Moldavian SSR. He claims that the latter has been deprived of all rights.

That same year, in 1977, Barladyanu was convicted and given a three-year sentence. But he remained in a forced labor camp twice as long, for he continued voicing slander even while serving his sentence.

Upon returning to Odessa, Barladyanu resumed his old ways. He takes cover behind the slogans of perestroika and is of the opinion that today anything goes, that everything falls under the pretext of combating stagnation phenomena of the past. He is therefore willing to stoop to any means whatsoever. Barladyanu is presently unemployed, and he constantly claims to be a member of the editorial board of the unofficial samizdat magazines UKRAYINSKY VISTNYK and KAFEDRA, which are published in Kiev by Ukrainian nationalists Mykhaylo Horyn and Vyacheslav Chornovol; he sends slanderous written materials to these magazines for their subsequent use in Radio Liberty broadcasts. He jumps at the slightest pretext to slander Soviet law enforcement agencies and is perfectly willing to resort to provocation.

For example, at 8:25 p.m. Moscow time on 22 November 1988 Radio Liberty reported that Barladyanu, chairman of the Initiative Committee of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and member of the editorial board of the magazine UKRAYINSKY VISTNYK, was the victim of a vicious beating which took place in Odessa on the night of 17-18 November. News announcer Nadiya Svitlychna, presenting the story in dramatic tones, told listeners how three young men had viciously beaten up the unfortunate victim, delivering blows to the head, silently and professionally, and how he had been brought back to consciousness by ambulance personnel. An X-ray taken the following morning allegedly indicated damage to the skull and spine. Radio Liberty claims that the beating was in response to statements made by V. Barladyanu on 14 November at a meeting of the Odessa Ukrainian Language Society. His statements, claims Svitlychna, "evoked an enthusiastic response, and Barladyanu was elected chairman of the society's history section. But this was not to the liking of Odessa's chauvinist Mafia." At this point we must state that of course nobody elected Barladyanu chairman of a section of this unofficial organization. But this is nothing in comparison with other assertions broadcast by Radio Liberty.

Well, let us leave all this to the conscience of Radio Liberty and its correspondent in the USSR. Let us look into the facts behind this sensational news report.

We have before us official documents of the Odessa municipal emergency ambulance station, Municipal Clinical Hospital No 3, and the oblast clinical hospital. These documents indicate that neither at the claimed time nor at any other time had there been an emergency

ambulance call involving Barladyanu, that he had not been brought to the outpatient clinic or to any emergency room, that he had not gone there himself, and that he had not summoned a doctor to his residence. Nor does any police precinct have any record of his claim of physical assault. As it turns out, Barladyanu preferred to turn to an "acquaintance"—oblast hospital X-ray specialist L. N. Mendelson. The latter amiably hastened to draw a doubtful medical conclusion about his injuries although, we are told by officials at the oblast clinical hospital, Mendelson is not certified to do so. No other medical specialist personnel examined Barladyanu.

What was the purpose of this staged incident? It is as follows. It was reported during that same Radio Liberty broadcast that "in connection with the assault on Barladyanu, the executive committee of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has sent a protest to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to the Office of the Prosecutor General of the USSR." The protest states, in particular, that "such barbaric actions are continuing, in spite of current efforts in the Soviet Union by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe." In short, the point was to raise a hue and cry at an appropriate time. It is not mere happenstance that in that same broadcast Radio Liberty warned that another such criminal assault is likely to take place in Odessa in the near future. This time the victim may be Hanna Mykhaylenko, one of Barladyanu's associates. The bandits (meaning KGB personnel) have selected her as their next victim, we are warned from abroad. Radio Liberty even identifies the place where the decisions to mount physical assaults are made—one of the offices on Bebel Street, where the local KGB headquarters is located. More than three months have passed, however, but they have not yet succeeded in staging any such scandalous incident.

Radio Liberty also reported that pastor Oleh Hryhorovych Kadenchuk, member of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested in Odessa "by three persons in plain clothes." We were unable to establish what church or denomination had conferred this respected title upon him. On the other hand we know from documents that this "man of the cloth" is a person of uncertain occupation and is evading payment of child support for eight children resulting from four marriages. And Kadenchuk was indeed arrested in Odessa by the police, precisely for this reason. As he himself stated, he is living on financial assistance from Horyn and Chornovol, to whom he was introduced by Barladyanu. And in return he runs various errands, carrying papers from Lvov to Odessa and back, as well as money for Barladyanu and other fighters for a "free Ukraine." Kadenchuk also stated that Barladyanu has been complaining more and more about the fact that Chornovol and Horyn have large sums of money at their exclusive disposal, money which comes to Lvov from abroad, while the people in Odessa receive "mere crumbs." What attracted Kadenchuk personally in all these activities was the chance to gain the reputation of a popular fighter for the "Ukrainian idea." Barladyanu

had promised to create for him such a reputation in a series of articles appearing in UKRAYINSKY VIST-NYK and KAFEDRA, with a subsequent large-scale "campaign to defend Kadenchuk" in the West as a Ukrainian rights activist. For Kadenchuk this is an extremely attractive prospect, since he dreams of requesting "political asylum" in Canada. For the present, however, Chornovol has persuaded him that "people like him, Kadenchuk, are needed here," that is, in the Ukraine.

We feel that one more brush stroke should be added to the portrait of Vasyl Barladyanu. As he himself states, he is a fervent Christian, belonging to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, which is "persecuted" in the Ukraine. And he is of course fighting vigorously for the revival of this church. For this reason he engages in debate over Radio Liberty with Archpriest Oleksandr Kravchenko, rector of the Odessa Theological Seminary, resorting to falsification of facts from the history and present-day affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church. He levels an accusatory indictment at Rector Kravchenko for having written an article published in the party oblast newspaper ZNAMYA KOMMUNIZMA, stating that "it has never before published articles by priests."

Well, such a position taken by a genuine fighter for a "free Ukraine," which in certain circles Barladyanu is undoubtedly considered to be, is logical, for it was Uniate priests who blessed the banners and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which Barladyanu, Chornovol, Horyn and their ilk are now attempting to rehabilitate. He claims that it was not the UPA cutthroats and followers of Bandera who are guilty of annihilating the Ukrainian intelligentsia but that "the Soviets themselves organized this slaughter." The followers of Bandera should allegedly be rehabilitated, for in the opinion of Barladyanu they were fighters for a "free Ukraine." As one customarily states in such instances, such ridiculous claims scarcely merit comment.

Such people who are so concerned about fighting for human rights and the rights of nations have appeared in the USSR precisely on the wave of glasnost and perestroika. The moral countenance of the majority of these people, however, fails to evoke positive sentiments, to put it plainly. Taking Barladyanu as an example, one can readily see that the major elements here are personal arrogance, unquenchable ambition, and the desire to gain fame and publicity at any price. Is this not attested to by Barladyanu's comments about his kindred spirits in Lvov, Kiev, and Kharkov? He particularly attacks Horyn and Chornovol who, to quote Barladyanu, are discrediting themselves by appropriating for themselves all the money and publicity as Ukrainian rights activists. "The West is channeling everything to headquarters," he says, "while we get crumbs!" Is this not the reason why he has finally decided to abandon the land of his birth

and seeks to garner fame and notoriety in the expectation of an invitation from Canada? When S. D. Podlinev, deputy chief of the Odessa Oblast MVD Directorate, asked Barladyanu during an interview whether it would not be better for him to expend his energies on development of the Ukraine, which he loves so ardently, this Ukrainian rights activist replied that he does not believe in perestroika in the USSR, that it will not lead to any good. For that reason there is nothing for him to do here. Particularly, this "fighter" stressed, since there are no more genuine Ukrainians left in the Ukraine.

This is the true visage of Vasyly Barladyanu, who took it upon himself to be spokesman over Radio Liberty for the residents of a multiethnic Ukrainian city with a population numbering one million people.

Concerns Continue Over Illness of Children in Chernovtsy

18000655 Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
7 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by V. Nazarchuk: "Chernovtsy: After Obtaining More Precise Data"]

[Text] In Chernovtsy, the oblast extraordinary commission to eliminate the aftereffects of the mass illness of children with chemical alopecia is continuing its work. According to its data and the conclusions of the expert commission of the USSR Ministry of Health, 132 children were registered with this diagnosis. These data were published in due course in *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*. This figure was "frozen" for more than 2 months, even though there was continuing talk in the city about new cases of illness. Specialists categorically denied these rumors.

And then the extraordinary commission published new and more accurate data provided by the republic Ministry of Health. For the entire period beginning with the end of August 1988, 218 children were sent from Chernovtsy and several other population centers in the oblast to various research and medical institutes in Moscow and Kiev. Another 18 have been added to the 132 who were given the diagnosis of "chemical alopecia" prior to 25 November of last year. To date, therefore, according to the data of USSR Ministry of Health, there are already 150 children who suffered the chemical illness. The republic commission has not yet made any final conclusions on 25 other children and 43 children previously sent for examination have been found healthy.

Almost all of the children except four—two of whom are still being examined at the Kiev Research Institute for Pediatrics and two others are being treated at the Ukraina Sanatorium in Vorzel—have already returned home.

There was also much talk about illness among adults. Three adults were sent to the All-Union Research Center for Toxicology in Kiev for examination. In the words of

I. Penishkevich, director of the Chernovtsy Oblast Health Department, they were given the diagnosis of "intoxication of unexplained cause with the greatest likelihood that it is chemical in nature."

In the opinion of I. Penishkevich, all of these refined data apply to the fall of last year. According to him, the flareup of chemical alopecia stopped after November 1988. What is surprising, however, is the "promptness" of the publication of conclusive data.

What is the situation in Chernovtsy today? I talked with many people about this subject. There is still tension in connection with the poisoning of children. People are chiefly concerned by the fact that the source of the contamination of the city with heavy metals that led to the illness has not yet been named. This gives rise to diverse rumors and conjectures. It is unlikely that it has taken such a long time to establish where this "one-time undetermined discharge of thallium" came from, as mentioned in the conclusion of the expert commission of the USSR Ministry of Health.

Meanwhile, people concerned about intensive baldness are continuing to appeal to the city's medical institutes. According to the oblast health department, 18 children and 10 adults visited medical institutes in January. All of them were given the diagnosis of "localized baldness." Eight children were sent to the Chernovtsy Railroad Hospital for inpatient examination. What is its nature? Judging by the local press, the specialists are not giving a complete answer.

In the city as a whole, measures are being taken to improve the ecological situation. The snowless winter has complicated this process. They are continuing to wash the streets in the central part, however. The restricted movement of individual transportation was lifted at the first of the year. But access to the central part of the city is allowed only for those drivers who live there. It is forbidden to park vehicles next to dwelling houses from 11 pm to 7 am. In addition, one day of the week, Monday, has been declared pedestrians' day in Chernovtsy.

Parents are concerned about the matter of the normalization of their children's health. As the oblast health department announced, all children from 5 to 14 years of age will soon be assigned places in sanatoria in Truskavets, Morshin, Feodosiya and Yevpatoriya. The matter of the improvement of the health of children from 1 to 4 years of age is more complicated. There are practically no such sanatoria. For this reason, the citizens of the city appealed to the republic government commission for permission to admit children with their mothers to boarding houses for mother and child. The Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee will allocate the necessary number of passes to the Molodaya Gvardiya Pioneer Camp for children suffering chemical alopecia.

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